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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

NOVEMBER 22, 1993 \$2.95

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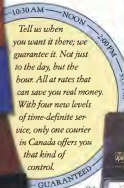
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The American Express Card.  
Now it's as welcome at Sears as you are.

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
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PHOTOGRAPHS: (clockwise from top and down clockwise) Montreal Canadiens' P.J. Ross; (top right) David Francis; (bottom left) P.J. Ross; (bottom right) P.J. Ross.



## Trudeau's back

22 With the publication of *Memoirs*, his account of his life in and out of politics, Pierre Trudeau reappeared on the public stage. And as usual, his timing was perfect. With a new Liberal government in Ottawa, his disciples and descendants are once again moving into the cabinet offices that he vacated more than nine years ago.



## An American tragedy

44 The murder of president John F. Kennedy 30 years ago has become America's greatest whodunit. The secrets of the mystery are preserved

in the memorials of those who were in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963—the fatal day that Camelot vanished in the crack of a rifle shot and America began to grieve.



## Down to the wire

34 As the clock ticked down towards a crucial Nov. 17 vote in the U.S. House of Representatives, the battle over the North American Free Trade Agreement degenerated into a political free-ding circus, Washington-style.



# LETTERS

## Rankings rancor

I could not help noting in your Nov. 15 issue, "A measure of excellence" (Cover/Special Report), that my alma mater, the University of Western Ontario, continues to languish for last place in the rankings. As a Western alumnus with two degrees, I am probably rare in believing the Maclean's rankings to be accurate and potentially useful, not only to its clients but—if they would only listen—to the university's senior management. For three years in succession, Western has unconvincingly had qualified Maclean's for daring to state the obvious: Western may have further to go to become number 1, but Maclean's deserves credit for rating Western in eleventh place. The judgment is a fair one.

Arif E. Akar,  
London, Ont.

In reflecting on Maclean's third annual ranking of Canadian universities, one begins to wonder about the wisdom of such rankings. Why do many colleges and universities, few of which can be expected to use these rankings in any meaningful way, since not many are in a financial position to relocate. Even assuming that all students could use the rankings for selection purposes, top-ranked universities would not be in a budgetary position to admit many extra students. In view of such constraints, the choice of most students came in not among universities but between higher education and a life without it.

Prof. M. Mayah Bukhari,  
Department of Psychology,  
University of Prince Edward Island,  
Charlottetown

For precious copyright while protecting sophistication in the ranking of Canadian universities, you think one both can access science and journalism ethics.

A. S. May,  
President, Memorial University,  
St. John's, Nfld.

## Fair trial

I am appalled at the media's attempt to re-open the publication ban on the Keri Hensel trial ("Cashing in on tragedy," Justice, Nov. 30). The ban is there to ensure that justice is done. Many argue that jurors would be able to put aside their knowledge of detailed information revealed in the Hensel trial and form an impartial judgement about the facts as presented during the



University of Regina; rising costs mean students cannot relocate

coming trial of her estranged husband, Paul Teale. Yet, there is a vast body of research in the forensic field demonstrating how difficult it is to disentangle what we know from how we came to know it. This kind of evidence could be used by the defence to argue for a mistrial. If satisfying the public's desire to know every gruesome detail threatens the ability of the Crown to fairly prosecute Teale, then justice may not be served and public outrage would truly be justified.

Jean Dumas,  
St. Catharines, Ont.

## Plus ça change

Well, here we go again, western Canadians. We have a new federal government with a majority position ("Tilting right," Canada, Nov. 15). We have a Prime Minister from Quebec. We have a finance minister from Quebec who is also responsible for Quebec regional development. We will have as the leader of the Opposition another man from Quebec whose sole political interest is to milk Canada for as much as he can get before removing Quebec from Canada once and for all. The West is the most prosperous part of Canada—and will be most targeted to provide the revenue to support the government's agenda. It is not surprising that British Columbia's token cabinet minister, Victoria's David Anderson, has been given the dirty job of revenue minister, responsible for raising the tax money. It is not difficult to imagine where the majority of those revenues will be spent.

Paul J. Arnold,  
Victoria

## Reduced to clear

It's not surprising that Conservative seniors would consider using their office expense budgets to rebuild their party ("Taking charge," Canada, Nov. 8). It is this kind of self-indulgent appropriation of the public wealth for private gain that has given us \$55 billion per year in public debt. Maybe they could do better for the country if they would renew their office expenses, and voluntarily reduce them. Or perhaps the seniors, who have so much time to spare, should simply quit, and work to rebuild their party—using Conservative party funds.

Armin D. Adams,  
Calgary

## Never cry wolf

I would like to comment on Farley Mowat's letter in your Nov. 8 issue ("Politically incorrect"), in which he states, in response to your skeptical reviewer, that he had "a great childhood." In 1958-1959 I went to first grade with Farley in Sudbury. We often walked as school together. Farley and his dad went on field trips together, and once a year the Mowats ran a gun show for the neighborhood children. Farley's dog would have always won if his dad had not handicapped him to give the others a chance. I envied Farley the chance of not having father devoted to him. The Mowats moved because we finished primary school. I met Farley a couple of other times—once, in the fall of 1959 in Picton, Ont., when he and his father were both relaxing for war service, and close together. There is no doubt in my mind that his loss of animals and the environment stems from the wonderful childhood he enjoyed.

F. R. Weston (Inglehart general, retired),  
Wilton, Ont.

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## A welcome change

Alan Fotheringham writes: "Because the voters are completing jumps and splitting votes among far parties, they will simply insure that the various House of Commons spectacle they shall see will be even louder, even more chaotic, even more unruly" ("Good news: a new election in 1994," Oct. 16). Which House of Commons can he be referring to? The one that I occasionally watch on TV is the very essence of calmness, an excellent spectacle for those who work night shifts. Maybe now we'll have a Parliament with substance, where otherwise idle gossamers will not be allowed to date into obscurity, and where the concerns of the people will not be sullied by constant theatre. I am quite excited at the prospect.

Rickard Woodville,  
Pittsford

Dr. Poth could rightly pointed out that Preston Manning's speech is "worse than Rex Campbell's Bannock" and that Jean Chrétien "got this far in politics without learning how to pronounce words in either language." The punch line, though, is that Lucien Bouchard turns out to be the most bilingual of the three, if not the most bilingual. Little wonder Bouchard valued an answer for the Blue Quebecers, regardless of its sociological status.

Lav Saunier,  
Montreal

Fotheringham berates the loss of several politicians from Parliament: Barbara McGowan is the one woman he mentions. What will he miss about her? Her "wooded legs"? Come on, Fotheringham. Through words, we actively construct our social world. Images like these continue to limit our view of women in politics and otherwise. This kind of "old boys' talk is inflated and unacceptable.

Tamara Cuthbert,  
Guelph, Ont

## Another's poison

Peter C. Newman is at it again. Has he ever met a rich man that he didn't like? "Explanations for the two-party system," *The Nation's* magazine, Nov. '93. Can he possibly resist rationally to any anti-Conservative sentiment including a rather stunning deficit at the polls? For him to characterize the new patterns emerging from the election as "an elevated dysfunction" lies on the face of it: many Canadians who have left the past nine years of Mulroney to be past that. This under

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## LETTERS

has the overwhelming desire of Canadians to effect a change—any change.

Sherrin Holmes,  
Edmonton

Peter C. Newman displays considerable historical insight but his conclusions are less persuasive. True, the main issue of the campaign was change, but it is unfair to brand the new Liberal government as "repressive and autocratic," and Canadians as "passive and servile." He does not seem to recognize that the rise of the Reform party and the 1992 Quebec vote are about to make substantial changes in Canada's legislative process. Perhaps Canadians are essentially followers, but we are not prone to blind loyalty, nor are we locked on the past.

Rachael McNeil  
Dow Mills, Ont.

## Tasteless ads

Not only did the Conservatives understate their opponents' but Mulroney's underrepresented his readers by stating that it was Liberal-organized volunteers who complained about the ads that highlighted Jean Chrétien's facial disfigurement ("Smearing the ink book," *Covey*, Nov. 1). I am not a Liberal volunteer, but still thought the ads were in the worst taste. That any focus group could see those ads is other than obvious attempts to misrepresent.

Colleen Hughes  
Ottawa

Thank you for the five pleasant and favorable photographs of Jean Chrétien, published in your Nov. 1 issue ("Today's man" cover). These photographs contrasted in some measure the "monster" images that were used by the Conservatives in their campaign.

Algis Skelins,  
Penticton, B.C.

## Criminal record

I was startled and outraged to read about the legally verifiable racket run in the Chignecto South conspiracy in British Columbia ("Prisoners convicted," *Canada's Voice*, Oct. 15). Surely there is enough malice in our media without concerning the innocent with their dress-up criminals' braided hair.

Wayford Matheson,  
West Vancouver, B.C.

Letters may be condensed. Please verify names, titles and degrees. Include full names in the letter. Mailings require: Matthew Hunter-Bell, 777 Ave. 1, Toronto, Ont. M2H 3K7 or Tel. (416) 593-1346/2750.

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Meeting lobbyists leaving Parliament Hill on Friday. From left to right: David MacNaughton, president of IRI and Knowledge Canada, the nation's largest government relations firm. "The answer is yes," said MacNaughton, who was at the industry's largest gathering and certainly its most complex. MacNaughton is a Liberal while company chairman Allan Gregg is a Tory who brought Decima Research, the Tory polling company, into the Hill and Knowledge told the firm's Ottawa sister and sides, Joe Thornley, secretary treasurer of the federal Liberal party, Michael Coates, one of Kim Campbell's election strategists, and Rick Anderson, one of Reform Leader Preston Manning's top campaign aides. It is a company that prides itself on having all the right connections all the way up and down. MacNaughton means that it never pays back on its ties to the party in office. "We're not selling," he said last week, "what we know, not what we know."

Still, what gave the industry such a bad name in recent years is that some Ottawa lobbyists sold not only their knowledge of how the federal government works—but also their personal ties to Tory ministers and their connections to House Majority itself. Immediately after the 1994 federal election, Frank Mancini, former Newfoundland premier and an old friend of Manning, set up an office in Ottawa, and along with other Tories like Mulrooney chair Patrick MacLellan, built up a blue-chip client list for his firm, Government Consultants International. Fred Doucet, another Mulrooney pal, also set up shop, running the Government Relations Consulting Group. It was Doucet's firm that lobbied for Propper, the main contractor involved in the controversial privatization plan for Toronto's Pearson International airport, a deal that, ironically, helped to scuttie the Tories' re-election effort.

At newly every who during the election campaign, Clinton made a point of talking about how he would bring back the best of public service and end an era where politicians and their friends appeared to be serving themselves. None of his friends and school chums, he proudly promised, would be setting up shop as lobbyists. But since the election, Liberals have become bad property in the government relations business, as its practitioners prior to call their industry. Some firms make sure they always have the bases covered and have not had to scramble to get a Liberal on the beltline. Industry sources say that even when Liberals have long been involved in a firm, they now own high-level profiles.

Having the right connections is vital even if lobbyists are playing by the book and not selling themselves as those who can solve a problem with a single phone call. Scott Moore, chief of the Lobby Monitor, an Ottawa newsletter that covers the industry, says that the industry's reputation for means having access to valuable information. Knowing what a government thinks, how it

business—at its best, "there have been positions in the past nine years that have not been particularly good?" asked David MacNaughton, president of IRI and Knowledge Canada, the nation's largest government relations firm. "The answer is yes," said MacNaughton, who was at the industry's largest gathering and certainly its most complex. MacNaughton is a Liberal while company chairman Allan Gregg is a Tory who brought Decima Research, the Tory polling company, into the Hill and Knowledge told the firm's Ottawa sister and sides, Joe Thornley, secretary treasurer of the federal Liberal party, Michael Coates, one of Kim Campbell's election strategists, and Rick Anderson, one of Reform Leader Preston Manning's top campaign aides. It is a company that prides itself on having all the right connections all the way up and down. MacNaughton means that it never pays back on its ties to the party in office. "We're not selling," he said last week, "what we know, not what we know."

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## Canada Notes

### BATH-SHAP UPGRADER

The University of New Brunswick suspended mathematics professor Michel Yvonin after he wrote an article in a student newspaper claiming that disfigurement is a natural outlet for the sexual needs of modern youth. Yvonin, 39, wrote that rape is a terrifying prospect only for women who rely on traditional religious and who consider sex outside marriage as sin. Yvonin, who has taught at the university for 27 years, has been ordered to stay off the *Fredericton* campus until a review into his professional conduct is completed.

### DEATH IN THE BUSH

All three crew members and four passengers aboard an Air Manitoba Bombardier CRJ-440 died when the plane crashed near the remote Northern Ontario community of Sandy Lake. The cause of the crash remains unknown at press time.

### CHARGES DROPPED

Citing lack of evidence, the Alberta department of justice quashed 10 charges—including conspiracy to commit murder—against *Edmonton* *Geography* editor Chris Clarkson related to a bizarre case in which *Edmonton* photographer Con Balad alleged that he had been injected with the HIV virus. A charge of possession of a prohibited weapon against Marilyn Tan, a former lover of both Balad and Clarkson, was also dropped. Tan will face charges of aggravated assault and threatening to cause death or serious bodily harm.

### BARGAINING IN BAD FAITH

The Canada Labour Relations Board ruled that the owners of the Giant gold mine in Yellowknife had bargained in bad faith leading up to a May 1992 strike action. The board ordered the company and union to negotiate a settlement within 30 days or face binding arbitration. Five months after the strike began, nine miners died in an explosion, a cause premier was later charged with nine counts of first degree murder.

### JEAN VERSUS SHULLA

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his law minister Jean Yves in a decision primers despite repeated requests that the federal deficit could rise to \$40 billion for each of the fiscal years 1990-1991 and 1991-1992. Chrétien dismissed as "absolutely pure and simple" comments by Deputy Prime Minister Shulla Gupta, who last week had promised that he would be in debt.

# A CLEAN SLATE

A Mitchell Sharp walks along the streets of Ottawa on his way to his new office as the Liberal government's assistant ethics adviser, powers by stop him to deliver a special message. By Sharp's own account, they tell him that, thank God, finally the people in power are interested in doing the right thing. It is a sign, says Sharp, of a hunger for a change in the way that

Ottawa does business. Jean Chrétien and the Liberals now last month's federal election partly because they understood that years (ag for better government). Now, says Sharp, it is up to them to deliver—to demonstrate that "integrity is not just words."

## A HUNGER FOR HONEST GOVERNMENT GRIPS THE NATION'S CAPITAL

From a tighter leash on lobbyists, better conflict-of-interest rules for cabinet ministers and senior public servants, less patronage and fewer perks for members of Parliament. As new MPs arrived on Parliament Hill last week, finding their offices and desks, as Alberta Minister Ken Egidio said, "we came here to fix Ottawa," government officials were already planning legislation on how best to keep the Lib-

eral election promises on ethics when the new Parliament begins work on Jan. 17. At the same time, some senior Liberals say that they may reverse about 500 agreements that the former Conservative government made during its dying days. Critics contend that up to 300 of these agreements involved patronage

best make as one of it held a particular lobbyist. A special task force of the Ontario Provincial Police has been investigating such practices for more than two years, although no charges have as yet been laid. Its co-chair, Chief Supt. Earl Gibson told *Maclean's* last week, it is "faced with matters where there may have been other officials of the government or political representatives of the government that were involved in wrongdoing."

From their perch in the modern office towers that ring Parliament Hill, even lobbyists look about the Liberals' new job. They don't show their industry—which by some estimates has ballooned to a \$100 million a year

unable to act and what its priorities are can be pitiless to a company seeking government help or a contract.

If information makes the lobbying business work, a lack of information makes it nervous. The lobbyists know their Christian clients to regulate them, says Shaw, but as Sean Moore notes, they more than make up for that in the details that count. In their Red Bank of client views, the Liberals promised to abide by the report last spring of an all-party Committee convened on lobbying. It recommended changes to the current law, which says only that lobbyists must register with the government. That register, says Sharp, is little more than an advertisement for companies, plus a firm with an impressive client list and name.

Ottawa MP Don Cousens, the senior Liberal on the committee, said that lobbyists should be forced to reveal exactly what they are lobbying for and who is government. They are dealing with, in the report recommended in addition, "fourth-level" law to see their clients' level to the ethics commissioner that Christian has pledged to appoint. The commissioner would have the power to disclose what the firm was or that was in the public interest. Acting on that committee has an advisory function for the cash-strapped government. It would be doing. Notes Bourdieu: "It's an easy thing for the government to deliver on."

But all the talk about regulating lobbyists misses the central point about past exercises, says Hill and Knowlton's Rick Anderson. "There are always people opening up the loopholes," he says. "The missing thing is that their funds



The capital's most powerful lobbyists are scrambling to adjust to a radically altered political landscape. Examples:

• **GOVERNMENT CONSULTANTS INTERNATIONAL:** President Gary Beaudet, an old hand of Brian Mulroney, is making perhaps the most radical change: he is leaving to work as a production manager for a touring magic show. Many of the partners in the firm, headed by Mulroney's friend and former Newfoundland premier Frank Messer, are also leaving to start a new company underwriting TV productions.

• **GOVERNMENT BUSINESS CONSULTING GROUP:** Chief executive officer Fred Deacon, another longtime Mulroney hand, has brought in former Trudeau minister Jean-Jacques Blais as president.

• **SPC GOVERNMENT POLICY CONSULTANTS:** President Joe Jenkins, a former Mulroney aide, recruited longtime Liberal strategist Lawrence Wright as chairman.

• **ETHICS/STRATEGY GROUP:** Liberal Michael Robinson will take on a higher profile, while Manning funds Harry Blair and Bill Fox will be less visible.

• **HILL AND KNOWLTON:** Liberals Joe Thornley and David Miller will lose sponsorship. Notes Michael Cousens and Sharon Andrews will be less prominent.

in government let them get away with it." Sharp made the same point when he said that democracy as government starts with the government side. "You have to get it at the government side," he stressed. Last month's election results say sources in the lobbying business, including some Tories, has already made a difference because Christian has spoken out so forcefully on the need for new ethical standards. What are Ottawa lobbyists called the "backstage" gate of influence on influence has already gone out of business.

Still, warning back public trust will take more than just reforming the way lobbyists work and the way ministers handle themselves. Debra Drake, a pollster with Knowledge Research in Toronto, says the media of public cynicism and distrust for public men deep. Canadians share with citizens of other Western democracies a mistrust of politicians born of elements as diverse as deficits and governments that fail to keep their promises. Politicians of all stripes say that trust can be restored with less generous pensions for 100% less patronage, and a House of Commons that is less partisan and more constructive. Herb Gray, the Liberal House leader, said last week that he is working on a package of reforms to give voters more choice. "It's important," he said, "responding to public concerns about our institutions, to move on it fairly soon." The same concerns are pushing Christian's government to move quickly on restoring a sense of public trust to Ottawa.

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## 'WE MUST REFORM THE SYSTEM'

Reform Leader Preston Manning says that one of his party's main goals is to "change the way Ottawa does business." Manning discussed his objectives with Maclean's Ottawa bureau last week. Excerpts:

**Maclean's:** The Liberals say they want to clean up the way Ottawa works. Do you take that at face value?

**Manning:** Of course our people are skeptical because if anybody had an opportunity to do it, the Liberals did—and they didn't. But we will give them the benefit of the doubt.

**Maclean's:** Does the public have unfettered high expectations of how politicians should

**Manning:** There is room for fundamental improvement in the quality of representation and debate. We have a lot of room before

we get to the area of excessive expenditure. What reform guidelines will you set with your own caucus on the pensions and perks that are added to?

**Manning:** In some cases, those changes will require legislative changes. That, of course, is never as simple as people think. We really must reform the system.

**Maclean's:** You received a salary of \$42,245 and four expense allowances (including \$27,300). Are they enough?

**Manning:** The salary of MPs does not come up that much in public discussions. Pensions do. This has to be a top priority along with perks, travel and special pensions for MPs.

**Maclean's:** Which of these, other than pensions, bothers you most?

**Manning:** Travel staff gets mentioned a lot amount. Parliamentary committees abroad, junkies in the country and outside.

**Maclean's:** Should Reform MPs boycott those?

**Manning:** We are trying to develop positive for our own members. Spending time in the riding will be very high on the list, fol-

lowed by parliamentary work. Everything else is pretty low priority, including those perks.

**Maclean's:** MPs in the past have become very comfortable with their perks. Do you have fears that Reformers, as they settle in, are going to find them attractive as well?

**Manning:** That's one reason for steering away and getting a consensus among very early. If you get used to something, it is very hard to withdraw. If you don't, then maybe it's a little bit easier to not be tempted.

**Maclean's:** There are some suggestions that one change in the House might be to recognize the Tories and the NDP as official parties, even though neither has the required 12 members.

**Manning:** We are not sympathetic. They treated Ontario's Gray (Reform's sole MP in the Parliament) like dirt for 10 years, particularly the NDP. Conservatives, when we had one MP, and the Bloc had none, were not a shaper from either the Liberals or Conservatives of giving any kind of help at all.

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# Trudeau On Trudeau

COVER

**Memoirs offers few regrets with a defence of his vision of Canada**

**A**ssured, his timing was perfect. Pierre Trudeau rested nine years after leaving office before publishing *Memoirs*. His own account of his life as and out of politics. But when the book finally appeared last week, it was in a political atmosphere that guaranteed it a special prominence. Once again, the Liberals are back at power in Ottawa—and once again, the disciples and descendants of Trudeau are moving into cabinet offices. As he turned over his personal papers to the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa before unveiling *Memoirs*, the former prime minister could look in the mirror of the new Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, a man whose career he largely shaped during almost 18 years in office. "History," an Trudeau reply issued last week, "is a very curious thing."

*Memoirs* is not the definitive inside account of the Trudeau era. Trudeau was never a man to look backward and, as he tells it, a lot years of copying by old friends and eager publishers to persuade him to tell his story to three interviewers, who then turned his account into a 379-page book. But despite the torturous process, the book does carry the trademark Trudeau promise to apologize, few regrets and a bold defence of his role as one of a strong, independent Canada. As he toured the country last week to promote *Memoirs*, he seemed more satisfied by suggestions that the rise of the Reform party and the Bloc Québécois amounts to a repudiation of his dream. No, he insisted, it was Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives who encouraged regionalist and Quebec nationalism—and were finally destroyed by the forces they unleashed.

Trudeau's judgment on his leading contemporary is surprisingly generous and at times quirky. Chrétien was "a good soldier and a happy warrior," Joe Clark, whom he often seemed to treat with barely disguised contempt when the two men faced off in political controversy, was "a tough son-of-a-bitch," and René Lévesque, in many ways Trudeau's arch-enemy as the champion of Quebec nationalism, was "a worthy opponent." But *Memoirs* deals with much more than political fighting. Trudeau offers a revealing portrait of his early days growing up in a bohemian family in Montreal, as well as his failed romance so far of the 1977 October Crisis—when his liberal ideals collided head on with the dark reality of terrorism, civil unrest and murder.



## THE MACLEAN'S EXCERPT

BY PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

*Trudeau begins by recalling an incident early in his first year at school in Montreal.*

**M**y friend Gerald O'Connor, one of my very first pals on my street, was starting school on the same day O'Connor stood out from the rest of us because of his height and his brain got off the job. He and I had looked forward to the beginning of school as an adventure we would share together. But as soon as I arrived in class on the first day, I saw that his desk and mine weren't even in the same part of the room. I was very upset. We had been separated. He was in the second grade while I had been put in the first, for reasons I couldn't understand since we were both the same age and had been on the same path until then.

Being upset up like that bothered me a great deal, and I complained to my father as soon as I got home.

"It's not fair," I told him. "I should be in the second grade, too."

My father always insisted that his children be self-reliant. Even when we were very young if he believed we could do something by ourselves, he refused to do it for us. So I communicated my anger and knocked on the principal's door. He was sitting behind his desk, and his black coat completely filled his structure. I will remember that I found him huge and intimidating. My voice must have been trembling when I explained what I wanted. And yet my request almost automatically produced the desired result. I don't recall whether the principal made me take any kind of test or whether he consulted the teacher, but I was promptly promoted to the second grade.

"Couldn't you ask him, Daddy?"

"No! It's your problem. Knock on his door and ask him yourself!"

My father always insisted that his children be self-reliant. Even when we were very young if he believed we could do something by ourselves, he refused to do it for us. So I communicated my anger and knocked on the principal's door. He was sitting behind his desk, and his black coat completely filled his structure. I will remember that I found him huge and intimidating. My voice must have been trembling when I explained what I wanted. And yet my request almost automatically produced the desired result. I don't recall whether the principal made me take any kind of test or whether he consulted the teacher, but I was promptly promoted to the second grade.

As the same now of Gerald O'Connor. If I remember that episode to this day, it is no doubt partly because of the outcome. But it is also because I overcame my shyness. Like all children, and maybe more than most, I was shy. I was reluctant to stand out. I had to be pushed into doing so—but then there was no holding me back.

In 1923, Trudeau's father took the entire family on a trip in Europe, which began my career as a globe-trotter.

On my return to Montreal at the end of this trip, a different kind of challenge awaited me: returning to high school, which I had started the previous year. My parents had chosen Montreal, more broadly known as Collège Jean-de-Brebeuf, which was a French-speaking institution. I wanted this because, although it was natural for upper-class Outremont residents to enroll their sons at this school, which was closest to their homes, quite a few French-Canadian families chose a different Jean-Baptiste high school, which was much further away. Laval, where classes were conducted in English.

Over the years, I have often been asked how, in a bilingual family like mine, we handled the problem of what language to speak at home. My answer is, it was the most natural thing in the world. I never felt that there was any problem. My father spoke to us in French, and my mother spoke in either language, depending on the subject and so how she felt at the time. My Trudeau grandmother, aunts, uncles and cousins always spoke French, my Elliott grandfather spoke English with my mother, but switched to French to talk with my father. Did that create any difficulties for us children? Very few and very minor ones. In elementary school at Académie Gendreau, for example, I was transferred to the French side in fourth grade after having studied in English for the first three years. Was it a difficult transition? Hardly. I remember only that there were certain words in French of whose gender or spelling I was unsure. But these uncertainties didn't last long. You might say that, long before I was formally assessed, I benefited from "total immersion."

In these days, when you started high school, you weren't greeted only by new classmates who made you welcome. Some "upperclassmen" made a point of persecuting the "freshmen," to assure themselves and to make their higher status obvious to everyone. I did not escape their attention. One morning, during lunch, one of these older students decided to provoke me by throwing a banana in my soup. I immediately lifted it out and threw it into his soup. I hadn't anticipated the effect this would have, because I didn't know that I was violating so unwritten law. Freshmen were not allowed to retaliate when an upperclassman provoked them.

"Right," said my persecutor, in a grin. "I think the way you want it, we'll settle this outside as soon as we leave the lunchroom."

"Oh—if you want," I said.

I was acting confident; there was no question in my mind of backing down. That deep down I didn't have the slightest wish to fight it out with this older boy, because I wasn't at all sure I would have the upper hand. He had done some boxing. So I didn't push it any further while waiting for dessert.

At the end of the meal, we both stood up. We waved each other at the eye for a long moment.

"OK," he said. "Just this time, I'll give you a chance."

And he walked away, in my great mood. But I had learned that you can win some confrontations just by acting confident.

One of the most testing times for Trudeau was the October Crisis of 1970, when terrorists from the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) kidnapped James Cross, the British trade commissioner in Montreal, and Pierre Laporte.



**As a baby (above) with his mother Grace: my father spoke to us in French, and my mother spoke in either language.**

Quebec's labor minister *Thudon* maintains that he has no regrets about that period.

We were severely shocked at the time for not having anticipated this highly informative series of events. In government, we were scandalized, and we had failed to see the storm on the horizon, which ought to have been clear to those who had seen years of terrorist assaults in Montreal and Ottawa. Today the same critics reproach us for not having anticipated this, for not having anticipated the role of the police in the events, for not having anticipated the role of the media in the events, for not having anticipated the role of the federal forces in the events, for not having anticipated the role of the separatist movement in the events, for not having anticipated the role of the political parties in the events. I have recently obtained a copy of a memorandum in which my observations to the police are preserved.

In fact, in December, 1969, nearly a year before the October Crisis, a cabinet committee—one of the new committees—was deliberating over problems of public security in Montreal, and these raised by the PQ in particular. Among other things, I said to those responsible at the RCMP that I was counting on them to "gather information on the sources of financing for the separatist movement in Quebec, on separatist influence within the government of Quebec, the public sector, police and parties, universities, unions and professions, and on the political activities in Quebec." It seems to me quite clear upon reading that quotation, that I had two things in mind: certainly the activities of terrorists and other advocates of violence, and, since 1962, had been increasing their activities, but I was also aware that it was important that the higher levels of the RCMP become better educated about the very nature of separatism, about the circumstances that gave rise to it, movement, the goal of which was the dissolution of Canada, either through the democratic process or by means of violence and terrorism. Until that time, the RCMP seemed to believe that Canadian unity could be threatened only by outside influences: fascism, communism, Trotskyism, Marxism or anarchy under any of its known forms. It was necessary to make them understand that violent separatism could come from and find support in good middle-class Quebec, and that they must not hesitate to pursue their inquiries with that attitude.

Of course, there was no question of encouraging the police to make weapons into legitimate democratic opposition parties as such, and even less of encouraging them to resort to illegal methods. When I spoke to them of "political parties in Quebec," I had in mind such things as the bombing incidents, of which there had been more than 60 at the time, and which could easily have resulted in the death of many people. I was also aware of the theft of weapons and firearms, which had been on the increase, and a number of armed robberies (responsibility for which had been claimed by the PQ) of banks, credit unions and gas-matrix shops—all of these crimes, it seemed, had been perpetrated to promote the cause of Quebec independence.

I had been fighting separatist ideology for years without once considering asking the police for assistance. As

long as the assassinations limited themselves to democratic methods to promote Quebec's withdrawal from the country, there was never any question of putting the police on their trail. But the moment they resorted to using bombs, or theft, or assassination attempts, we were no longer dealing with democratic opposition, and it became our duty to hunt them down, or at least to identify them, so that we could put an end to their criminal activities.

It was in such a climate that I made my pronouncement. When certain police officers concluded from my words that they had to spy on every activity of the Parti Québécois, they were mistaken. The Mountains had the right, and even the duty, to keep track of anyone they suspect of treason, even if such suspects were members of a democratic party. But they ought not to have targeted the party as a whole. As soon as I learned about any case of abusive surveillance, I demanded that it be stopped.

That being said, I have to confess that we were completely stunned by the kidnapping of Mayor of Montreal of the British diplomat James Cross, and his detention in a hostage in a cell of the PQ. Nothing like it had ever happened in Canadian history, and the sheer senselessness of it caught us off guard, which meant that we were badly equipped to deal with it. The action of the terrorists, and the

At the Trudeau family's summer home (above) with Robert Bourassa at Pierre Laporte's funeral in October, 1970 (right); the army on the streets at Montreal during the October Crisis (below)



threat they made to kill their hostage if their demands were not met, created a sudden and brutal emergency. My first reaction was amazement, and I have maintained the same position ever since: there could never be any question of negotiating with terrorists, not even to obtain the release of a hostage. Most I explain myself here yet again. The reason is simple: if we had agreed, as the PQ demanded, to release from prison PQ criminals who had been convicted of murder, armed robbery and kidnapping, we would have been putting our finger into a gearbox from which we could never get it out. Puffed up by the success of their tactic, they would have no reason to hesitate to murder, rob and kidnap again, since if they were caught, all their pals would have to go in to help someone else to have them released from prison—and on and on indefinitely. The only action in which we could give our consent was to send a few of the PQ's senior members in order to give the police time to track down the kidnappers—as Mitchell Sharp did when, as secretary of state for external affairs, he authorized the raiding of the terrorist hideouts near Buffalo Canada.

Even that concession seemed to me at the time to be too much, as soon as I heard about it I remembered saying: "He's made a mistake!" I had already told the cabinet: "We will not put them in such." But upon reflection, it seemed to me that Mitchell had done the right thing.

Only a few hours after the PQ kidnapped Laporte on Oct. 10, Premier Robert Bourassa telephoned Trudeau and told him



that he would like to send the army into Quebec. "The impression I received," Trudeau wrote, "was that the situation was getting out of control."

The police were not at all deep and were on the verge of physical and mental exhaustion. Every lead they followed had proved to be false, and the demonstrators were becoming unmanageable. The city of Montreal had no legal authority to try the demonstrators or prisoners of support during which thousands of people, from almost definitely, were showing "Five to PQ" while speakers hurled the most injurious insults at the terrorists, but at the politicians.

So the Canadian Armed Forces were called in, as the request of the Quebec government, "in aid of the Civil Power." Since the kidnapping of Pierre Laporte, soldiers had been ensuring the safety of federal institutions, including the prime minister. I spent the weekend at Harrington Lake, in the Gouffre Hills, and both military and police personnel kept my country house under surveillance. A special communications conference took place in Montreal and Quebec City, discussing for the proclamation of the War Measures Act. I remained for several more days, responses to two of the con-

sequences of such a move. I kept putting it off from one day to the next, but those were the days when I was in Quebec and Quebec City would not let me still any longer. In the end, I had to recognize that they were in a better position than I was to judge the urgency of the situation.

That Oct. 15, I ended up giving in to the representatives of my Quebec counterpart (Bourassa) and of the mayor of Montreal (Jean Drapeau). "That be decided," I found. "The War Measures Act would be invoked for such a reason. The law specifically states that only a state of war, or of apprehended, or insurrection, or of apprehended, can justify having recourse to the War Measures Act. Arr, you, Bourassa, and you, Drapeau, really to declare, in writing, that you are under such an apprehension? If you are not, it is impossible for me to go ahead. The law itself presents an insurmountable obstacle."

Their affirmative response was immediate. Was I wrong in according to the reasons they presented to me? I don't think so. And I am certain that, had I not declared the War Measures Act when I did, I would be accused today of having played the "Big Brother in Ottawa" by placing my own judgment ahead of that of more interested parties, ignoring the repeated appeals of the premier of Quebec and the mayor of Montreal.

As for the long-term effects of the October Crisis and the methods we used to bring it to an end, they seem to have shown the attitudes of the PQ for good, which is no small thing. Shortly after the crisis, even Pierre Vallières—who in the 1960s edition of his *White Nights of Anarchy* called upon a guerrilla force made up of "workers, students, young people and intellectuals" to fight "first with placards, then with stones, Molotov cocktails, dynamite, revolvers and machine-guns"—even this former PQ theoretician realized that violence would never succeed in Quebec, and that in order to gain power it was necessary to resort to legal, democratic means.

Other analysts claim to have predicted that the Quebecs actually strengthened the position of the Parti Québécois, and to have increased its influence. Is that the case? If the October Crisis strengthened the Parti Québécois, it certainly did not weaken separatism. Quite the contrary: it is true that six years after the crisis, the PQ assumed power in Quebec. But how did it do so, and what price did it pay? By about the perspective of winning an election, the party, the first article of its constitution. There is a new, in 1970 and 1973, the party placed its separatist plank at the top of its electoral platform, and once in power it was thoroughly demolished by Robert Bourassa's Liberals. By 1978, the Parti Québécois had become its focus, it finally had to state that the Quebec of Quebec were not in a state of the separatist of its province, which is why in 1970 the PQ said, "This election is not about sovereignty. It is only about bringing good government to the province." That is why I said at the time that separatism was dead, because its official representatives themselves had given up on it; they considered it as obsolete to be fought.

Separatism died in 1970, but its funeral was the elections of 1980. It's true that the Parti Québécois was elected in 1980, but as René Lévesque said in 1985 it was elected to take "the beautiful role of federalists." And when the Quebec government tried to block the guarantee of the Constitution in 1982, it was repudiated by a clear majority of the members elected by the Quebec people to sit in Parliament. And when the Parti Québécois was elected in Quebec City, which is more, in fact, the Parti Québécois, the Quebec people chose the PQ government for having rejected separatism in 1980. And shortly after that, they rejected the PQ government itself.

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was not a guest at the retreat—an ominous sign in the view of those who like to interpret Trudeau's actions. While his motives are reluctant to discuss the matter, some suggest that tensions between the two may have ruptured over what they describe as Cover's apparent desire for a more personal arrangement with Trudeau, perhaps even marriage.

If it is true that Trudeau has recoiled from that prospect, it could well have something to do with his first marriage. In Montreal, he accepts at least some of the blame for the collapse of his union with Margaret, who is 30 years younger than he is. "I was a scapegoat in both politics and family life," he writes. "I earned late in life

... and I was learning about marriage and parenthood at the same time as I was learning about the workings of politics. So perhaps it was a little too much for me and, regrettably, I didn't succeed at that, too."

Trudeau still sees his former wife during her frequent visits with their three sons. The former 1980s flower child is now 44 and has another family. She is married to Ottawa real estate developer David Kenney; they have two young children, Kyle, 8 and Allison, who is 4.

As for the children she bore with Trudeau, they are clearly the focus of his current life. When the three young men are not in school, they are often on the road with their father. In recent years, Trudeau has taken his sons on lengthy trips through France, England, China, Japan, Switzerland, Asia and Siberia. This past summer, he traveled through Mexico and California's Baja Peninsula. As the finishing touches were being applied to Montreal, he was seen driving in Macao.

Money is obviously not a concern. Trudeau's personal financial worth is yet another of his closely held secrets. However, sources in Montreal's financial community estimate that he inherited around \$4.5 million upon his father's death in 1959; they say he has since tripled the value of that inheritance. "Pierre is a capitalist, but personal gain is not his goal," says one financial analyst with access to Trudeau's interests. "But what is not widely known is the fact that the pay on a very young investor"



I don't have to prepare witnesses or do the research for the cases. Instead, I'm available to the senior lawyers of the firm who want to discuss an issue with me."

He is a privileged position. Moreover, it is one that has allowed him to escape an unenviable fate that has recently overtaken almost all of Quebec's 15,000 practicing lawyers—including the recently reelected Brian Mulroney. As a result of a massive revision of Quebec's Civil Code, virtually all lawyers in the province have been straddling

the former prime minister's influence is bound to increase. As one veteran Liberal on-grassroots remarks: "There's a hole in this government who's going to say 'No' to Pierre if he asks for a favor."

By the same token, his long years in government have won him a wide network of friends and acquaintances overseas. He has handed out constitutional advice to Vaclav Havel, president of what was then Czechoslovakia, as well as Mikhail Gorbachev when he was president of the Soviet Union. Trudeau is a charter member of an informal but highly influential international network of former heads of state and heads of governments known as the Interim Group Council. The group meets two or three times a year in various locations around the world to discuss global issues.

At home, Trudeau's circle of senior friends tends to be small, restricted to those who have been close to him all his life. "We have lunch about once a week, usually in a modest Chinese restaurant," says Gérard Pelletier, the former cabinet minister and ambassador to France who has been a Trudeau associate for almost half a century and who was most of the early part of all Montreal. Former cabinet minister Marc Lalonde is another frequent lunchtime companion, as are senators Jacques Hébert and Michael Prud'homme, as well as Trudeau's former

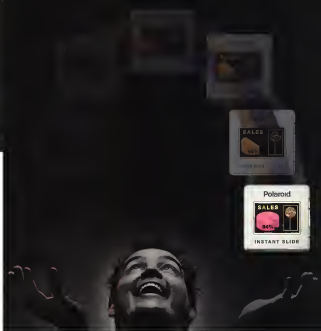


Cover: her relationship with Trudeau has cooled

60 conspiracy hours of instruction as the new regulations. Trudeau was granted a special dispensation, freeing him from the mandatory classes.

In reality, however, Trudeau's value to his firm has more to do with his political clout than with his knowledge of the law. And with the advent of Jean Chrétien's Liberal government in Ottawa, which includes five ministers who were served in Trudeau's cabinet,

RUSKY CANE is Montreal



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Trudeau (left), John Turner, and Chrétien (right) in 1987. Trudeau's death on the party is falling

# Different drummers

Chrétien emerges as his own man

In the fall of 1992, Liberal leader Jean Chrétien had every reason to be alarmed. After months of private and public distancing, Chrétien had finally convinced himself that all but a few of his 75 MPs that he was all right to support the Charlottetown constitutional accord in the referendum to be held on Oct. 26. Then, on Oct. 26, a vote in Montreal came the summer sign of a cold war about to explode. Here Chrétien, as a Liberal, was about to emerge from political retirement to attack a coalition government in Ottawa in order to force the Charlottetown agreement. But by the time of Trudeau's attack—on a morning when parliament was in session on Sept. 28 and in a speech that followed the following week in Montreal—Chrétien had learned just his party's response. There would be none. As Chrétien wanted his constituents to know, "I don't want to hear one word of criticism about Trudeau. We are used."

Some critics saw then several Liberals, say Chrétien's reasons as the natural delivery of a perpetual Liberalism who was unable or unwilling to extract himself from the magnetic hold of a fierce and brilliant boss. To them, Chrétien will always be "the good soldier and happy warrior" that Trudeau describes him as in his political recollections. However, Chrétien's supporters counter that if the 59-year-old political veteran was once beholden to the mercurial Trudeau, he is no longer even like anything but courtesy and respect. They add that although Chrétien's fledgling government is built upon a Liberal tradition moulded by Trudeau's federal reign of almost 16 years between 1968 and 1984, it has been adapted to suit a new prime minister with his own agenda. In fact, to many, the election of 1993 altered Chrétien's freedom from the past. "Trudeau is gone," says Toronto Liberal MP Dennis Mills, a self-described Trudeauite. "There's no more of him."

Chrétien has rarely been graded his ties to Trudeau or his formidable legend—even when both were tested against him. After all, it was Trudeau who gave the MP from "Shogville, Que." a string of cabinet posts from 1968 to 1984 that included the coveted job as Canada's first francophone minister of finance in 1977. But Chrétien paid a price for his power and prestige. He earned the dislike of the Quebec 1988 province with his tough laws on the 1988 referendum against the separatists in the constitutional battles of the early 1990s. To Jean-Luc Pepin, a former Quebec MP and Trudeau cabinet member, Chrétien was little more than Trudeau's puppet on constitutional issues. Pepin, who opposes Trudeau's central vision, adds that, even now, "Tru has not completely let the central cord."

Despite his dogged loyalty, Chrétien was never welcomed into Trudeau's inner sanctum. And Trudeau continued to send out signals

that he held his 59th birthday party in his study, only modest regard. Offering him only last year's last week, Trudeau told reporters in Ottawa as he launched the 1993 election. "You were enough to make sure that where he was not fully rounded out in some area, he would surround himself with people who were. He knew his limitations."

Whatever the true nature of their personal relationship, the links now facing Chrétien demand a break with the past. With 54 MPs from the separatist Bloc Québécois in Opposition, Chrétien can ill afford his predecessor's stubborn negotiating tactics with the province of Quebec. According to Stephen Clarkson, a University of Toronto political scientist and Trudeau biographer, Chrétien will differ from Trudeau in that he "will be much more of a pragmatic negotiator than someone who is looking for perfection." Similarly, in the economic front, only vestiges of the free spending Trudeau era are likely to survive. With a federal deficit expected to be a record \$40 billion this year, Chrétien stands to play a cautious course—before the onslaught of the aggressive wing of his party with the more moderate adherents of a government schooled in the need for fiscal restraint. "We're at a time when trying to get the national economy in order and getting people back to work are real priorities," says York University historian Murray Cook. "Trudeau's government—like every other government of the last 100 years—would go on forever."

In fact, there was little visible evidence of Trudeau's influence on the Liberal party during this year's 47-day election campaign. It is true that Chrétien sometimes recalled the passion of Trudeau's fight for a strong central government. But he who evoked Lester Pearson's example of peace work and the promise of St. Wilfrid Laurier 100 years ago to lead Canada into the 20th century. Permeated by liberalism in his dealings with Trudeau by his side, Chrétien nevertheless inherited at least one trait from his fellow Quebecer's heartiness. While voting in an ad campaign poll a week before the election, Trudeau declared that a vote for the Bloc would break up Canada—a tacit message that Chrétien could not afford to utter for fear of alienating Quebecers.

The campaign platform—centered in the Liberals' "first book"—bounced the Constitution in the back pages and emphasized a style of federalism based more on partnership than confrontation. The campaign itself was managed by longtime Chrétien loyalist and a cabinet member, the quiet presence of former Trudeau strategist such as James Coates and Senator Keith Dwyer, an act by Chrétien to reach out to all segments of the party.

In some respects, Chrétien has put his own stamp on the way he wants his government to be seen. He rejected the Trudeau model of a centralized decision-making process that focused on the Prime Minister's Office. Instead, Chrétien ordered his cabinet to be a dispassionate government machinery, delegating more authority to both his ministers and the federal bureaucracy.

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Trudeau, formerly (bottom) many of Chrétien's senior ministers have back to the pro-business Liberalism of Louis St. Laurent and C.D. Howe rather than Trudeau's 'last society' era

if anything, Chrétien's government reflects more of a lingering Liberal public mood over Trudeau as a partner than rather than a gradualist. Many of the 177 Liberal MPs elected last month remember Trudeau mostly as a part of their high-spirited youth. Among them is Western Ave. Mr. Elton. Blomfield Andrews, whom Chrétien appointed as his junior minister of training and youth. The 40-year-old Blomfield Andrews recalls that, as a teenager, they were a paper Trudeau. Andrews, at the peak of Trudeauism in the 1980s, says Blomfield: "A lot of us were inspired by Trudeau and his politics because of him."

For his 25th birthday, Chrétien turned in part to his political mentors from the last of the Trudeau era. But none are considered Trudeau acolytes. Dearest Minister David Collette was a junior minister in Trudeau's cabinet. Foreign Affairs Minister Andrew Gault was a protégé of former cabinet minister and close Trudeau friend Jean Marchand. Solicitor General Herb Gray clashed with Trudeau over economic policies in the early 1970s with he was out of cabinet and International Trade Minister Roy MacLachlan was a Trudeau loyalist but never a member. Of the five, only Lloyd Austin, the new minister of human resources development, who is identified with the left wing of the party, mentions Trudeau during the Trudeau year in a similar role as a minister of employment and immigration from 1980 to 1983.

At the same time, some of the most senior ministers in Chrétien's cabinet have few significant links to Trudeau and in fact represent quite different traditions in the Liberal party. Finance Minister Paul Martin, for example, is clearly identified with a post-Trudeau liberalism that is in some ways more reminiscent of the era of Louis St. Laurent and C.D. Howe in the 1950s than it is of Trudeau's "last society" policies. Says Clarkson, of Chrétien's new cabinet, "What is striking is how little influence Trudeau has."

Traditionally, Chrétien in many ways is more likely a creature of the Liberal party than Trudeau ever was. Still, reality and habit at 74, Trudeau used the Liberal party as a vehicle to implement his long-held vision of a centralized, balanced economy—and every Liberal knew a "Trudeau" was always a kind of rustic place. Says longtime Trudeau confidant Tim Atkinson, executive director of the Brouhaux-owned CIBC Foundation in Montreal: "He came to represent the Liberal party, but not Jean Chrétien, pragmatic and progressive, instead it was the party framework and Trudeau didn't." During last week's round of public appearances, Trudeau appeared to many observers as a distant, slightly annoyed, slightly surprised, and slightly wearying underdog. After more than two decades in Trudeau's shadow, Jean Chrétien at last will make it, or break it, as his own.

E. KAYE PLETON in Ottawa

# KIEV'S CULT OF DOOM

NEAR-HYSTERIA GRIPS DEVOTEES AS THEY AWAIT THE END OF THE WORLD

Do not be afraid to die. You will have died for our God, *Moshe Dore Abramov*

—A message was printed in a leaflet distributed among members of The Great White Brotherhood, a religious sect.

In apocalyptic terms, Kiev's Saint Sophia Square is Ground Zero. There, in the center of the Ukrainian capital, absolute authority and sheer religious conviction have collided during the past two weeks. Nominal control of the area lies with the local police who daily patrol the open space before a 13th-century Eastern Orthodox cathedral. But that display of secular authority means little to members of a cult who believe that Judgment Day is imminent. In response to a summons from a woman they regard as a living god, thousands of devotees have flocked to die from all parts of the former Soviet Union to witness the end of the world. What strange pilgrimages under way, as members of near-bustling has settled over the city. And rumors that the cult's Ukrainian born leader would be martyred in the square—either by killing himself or committing by the authorities in order to save for humanity's sake—have further fueled local authorities. Nervous police officials have publicly proclaimed that such a dramatic death might prompt thousands of cult members to follow her example and kill themselves.

There are compelling reasons historical

as well as current, for Kiev to be a magnet for a religious sect whose leader claims to be the embodiment of Jesus Christ. For one thing, the capital of Ukraine is also the cradle of Russian civilization; in 988 AD, Kiev was the first Eastern Slavic city to embrace Christianity. And as one of the major centers of the now vanished Soviet empire, Kiev has been swept by the doubts and uncertainties that have accompanied the collapse of communism. Indeed, independent Ukraine is now wracked by problems that range from hyperinflation and the severity of loved to



Maria Devi Khristos, 'I am god'

dire debates about the wisdom of retaining a nuclear arsenal inherited from the old Union. In Kiev is a major gate of the former empire. The end of communism has been marked by a search for spiritual assistance by millions of former Soviet citizens. Many have found an renewed value in Orthodoxy, albeit not other established faiths. But others have become willing converts to new religions. In fact, many have turned to the teachings of the White Brotherhood, a cult that claims to have emerged as 500,000 followers across the former union.

Religious cults and a widespread belief in the occult were all part of the old Russian empire before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution tried to suppress all forms of religious expression. And in the wake of the Communist collapse, such sects in the Donbass, an aprt-wilderness, are enjoying a revival after decades of government-sanctioned persecution. But the emergence of such extremist sects in the White Brotherhood generates the religious faith—and post-communist society—with a far greater threat to established order. In Russia, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics where the old system of values has been torn apart, the White Brotherhood provides a simple explanation for the chaos of our era: the world is coming to an end. To Elena Serbenyukina, an Orthodox church member who follows the emergence of new sects, this is a valid explanation for the rapid success of the White Brotherhood. Said Serbenyukina, "For



Police arrest cult followers, smashed by problems

70 years we had no information about religion as an religious education of any kind, the people are more and susceptible to such cults."

Detailed information on the White Brotherhood has been difficult to find. Sect members, most of them under 30, refuse to speak to outsiders who are not potential converts. And the sect's founder, Yuri Krasnoslov, a Russian born engineer and self-proclaimed spiritual leader, has been a fugitive since being charged with extortion two years ago. That glimpse of the cult's growing power could be diverted in Kiev, Moscow and elsewhere last summer as protesters, showing a senior young woman in armor white robes and carrying a shepherd's crook, started appearing on the walls of buildings in the city centers. They are known as Maria Teygova, Krasnoslov's wife and the cult's Messiah, now known as Maria Devi Khristos. Beneath the posters is a simple appeal to prospective followers: "I am the living god and through me alone can you receive redemption against Judgment Day."

At subway entrances, marketplaces and other public places, Teygova's seductive appeal to those disoriented by the turbulent changes in their lives, your families and one's self.

In the three years since its founding, the White Brotherhood has sent thousands of letters urging young offenders from Kiev

to Moscow. Indeed, named Teygova as officials have recently accused Moscow of financing Ukraine's side by by allowing thousands of cult followers to flood across the poorly guarded border between the two countries. That is not acknowledged at the conference now held by Krasnoslov, 32, the cult's self-styled prophet. Critics say that he has a reputation hold over his followers, including Teygova, a former Communist Youth leader and journalist who left her first husband of 14 years and a young son to look her destiny with that of Krasnoslov. In 1991, Krasnoslov relinquished the most prominent role in the cult but he has founded by declaring that Teygova was a living god.

Last week, police arrested Krasnoslov and Teygova when they made a sudden and dramatic appearance at St. Sophia Cathedral. According to a police spokesman, about 60 sect members, including the couple, joined access to the church by posing as a party of tourists. But some weeks the building became suspicious and called the police, who arrived on the scene to find the cultists performing ritual dances and songs around the altar. A light quickly broke out, during which the devotees reportedly damaged gold-colored icons and icons by spraying them with kerosene from lit candles. The Teygova couple, however, managed to escape. Teygova, who is a police spokesman, showed her good-looking wife and mentioning that she was the second coming of Christ. "I am Maria Devi Khristos. You are all servants of Satan and the devil," she said. And referring to the age of Jesus Christ, he was crucified, she said, "Teygova added, "that like 2,000 years ago, I am 20 years old."

Teygova's prophecy that the world die on Nov. 11 and be resurrected three days later did not seem to pass. But Kiev police refused to stand on guard last week as cult members continued to gather outside the cathedral in expectation of the world's end. Said Ukraine's deputy interior minister Valentin Nedykhalo, "We're dealing with various types in the past such as strikers and demonstrators, but with these people it is very difficult to find any common ground." Once known as the breadbasket of the Soviet Union, Ukraine last week seemed more like a basket case.

MALCOLM GIBBY is in Kiev

## World Notes

### PURSUING LIBYA

The UN Security Council imposed new sanctions on Libya for refusing to surrender two suspects in the December 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jetliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, that killed 270 people. The sanctions include a ban on Libya's financial assets abroad and a ban on the sale to Libya of some equipment.

### GAUL CONTROL

The U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill that will set a five-day national waiting period for handgun sales. The delay would give police time to check gun buyers to see if they had criminal records or a history of mental problems. It would also provide a cooling-off period for gun purchases. President Bill Clinton has said that he will sign the bill, which now goes to the Senate. The so-called Brady bill is named for former White House press secretary James Brady, who became a gun control advocate after he was shot in the attempted assassination of president Ronald Reagan in 1981.

### EXTREMISTS CHARGED

Police in Northern Ireland charged four men with a 1989 police party massacre at a pub in the village of Greysteel, and called the party a "hate party." The outlawed Protestant extremist group Ulster Freedom Fighters claimed responsibility for the attack, which killed seven people. The Greysteel killings were reprisals for the killing of an Irish Protestant a week earlier in an IRA bomb explosion.

### GULF WAR SYNDROME

U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin said that the Pentagon had found no link between reports of deadly chemical weapons attacks detected in the 1988 Gulf War and so-called Gulf War syndrome, the mysterious illness afflicting hundreds of American veterans. But responding to complaints from Congress, Aspin appointed a panel of experts to investigate the directions of Saudi nerve agents and mustard gas at Southern Saudi Arabia.

### A REFUGEE EXPLOSION

A new UN report estimated that about 20 million people around the world are refugees forced to leave their homes by conflict or oppression. The report said that more than 34 million people were being in danger of persecution in their own countries, largely as a result of ethnic wars that have set different ethnic groups against each other.

## THE UNITED STATES

## Down to the wire

In the three years since negotiations from Canada, the United States and Mexico began hammering out the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), supporters and opponents of the deal have published a veritable mountain of technical reports and analyses of the proposed continental trade pact. But last week, as the clock ticked down towards a crucial Nov. 17 vote on the deal in the U.S. House of Representatives, the details of NAFTA appeared to be the last thing on the mind of most legislators.

Instead, the battle over NAFTA degenerated into a political free-for-all. Washington-style. On television, Vice President Al Gore and House Speaker Ross Perot traded personal barbs and waved charts and photographs of one another in a debate on costs.

And on Capitol Hill, union leaders met other NAFTA opponents to deliver their lobbying of Perot. In the Oval Office, President Bill Clinton

promised individuals and small groups—promoting relief from Mexican sugar imports here, a new university specializing in trade issues there—in the hope of securing the final two seats or so

needed to get the deal over the line in the 435-vote House. "We're giving the hold-out guys," said one congressional aide "waking long and getting concerned."

Despite the White House's television and campaign offensive, Clinton was still having difficulty winning converts: even week-end

and Sunday newspaper analyses, as well as various political pundit shows, all said that Gore handsily beat Perot in the

debate, that the following day, only four undecided congressmen came out in favor of NAFTA. Looking for their support, both Clinton

and Michigan Democratic David Bonior, the leader of anti-NAFTA liberals in the House, said that they had chosen to tie the vote to the 218 votes needed to pass it.

In the 100-seat Senate, scheduled to vote on the agreement if the House approved it, Clinton appeared to have a solid majority. But in the House, the two main undecided legislators were agreeing over a chance between the President on the one side, and Perot, the small leaders

and their allies on the other. With midweek congressional elections looming next year, abstaining either side could be risky.

But as pro- and anti-NAFTA forces mounted their final lobbying pushes last week, Clinton and Mexican officials as well as traders

Perot, as a part owner of the prominent Dallas-Fort Worth airport, was in a position to benefit financially either way if NAFTA were to be approved or defeated. And as an ex-chief of a local Canada, Gore glossed over Prime Minister Jean Charest's campaign promise to renegotiate NAFTA, saying that only "the socialist party" had actually opposed the agreement.

Faster not to jeopardize passage of the pact, Mexican officials in Washington declined to respond to Perot's charges. However, the morning after the debate, radio commentators in Mexico City were not nearly as circumspect. One called Perot "a little

cheat." Another said that he had "the face of a little

liar." Mexican financial markets also showed signs of last-minute jitters about the trade pact. On the day of the debate, the Mexican peso declined by five per cent in a few hours, reaching a low of 3.3 pesos to the U.S. dollar. But it bounced back and closed the week at 3.2 to the dollar.

In Ottawa, NAFTA also provided some fresh controversy. The day of the Gore-Perot debate, U.S. Investment Minister (Gale) Clark

concluded that the agreement could force Canada to divert funds

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Gore (left) and Perot begin the debate. Seated opposite

In jittery international financial markets could do little more than fuel an anxiety

in one of the Mulroney government's last

major initiatives, performed approval the

deal in May. In Mexico, voters has yet to be

approved by the country's chamber of

deputies and its senate. But both houses

are dominated by President Carlos Salazar de Gortari's Institutional

Revolutionary Party, and they are

certain to pass the pact if it is ratified

in Washington.

The Gore-Perot debate produced

some of the most heated—and questionable—rhetoric in the days leading

up to the House vote. Perot, who earlier

claimed that pro-NAFTA forces had hired

a "satanic CIA team" to kill him, argued

that "you don't trade with people who

oppress their workers and don't have any

money." Brandishing a photograph of a

Mexican worker constructing a shack out of

cardboard, Perot said "the big dream" of

a tropical Mexican employed in a U.S.-

owned factory "is to scratch your own

house." Gore, however, brought the debate

down to a personal level when he said that

which Kantor said that water is a good

any other, and that Canadian water exports

could be recovered by increased dispute

resolution panels under the agreement. But

last week, newly appointed Canadian Trade

Minister Roy MacLennan and

Kantor said that the agreement only governs

markets of bottled water.

Meanwhile, back at the

White House, Clinton can-

celled the deal, saying candidly an

uneducated congressman

also voiced their concerns

about issues only peripherally

related to NAFTA.

Emerging from an Oval Office meeting

with the President last week, Republican

Representative Jay Byrnes said that

Clinton would "not let his wife [if progress

was made on a prisoner-exchange treaty

with Mexico] Kim said." He was very

stiff on the issue. He is going to look into

this." Regardless of the outcome of the vote,

Clinton will have a lot of promises to keep.

JOHN DANEY with correspondent reports



## WORLD

## THE UNITED STATES

## Battle of the Bobbitts

## Round 2: the case of the severed penis

On the laws of the Prince William County Circuit Court, two middle-aged businessmen were taking Turns

embellished with a drawing of a little

drooping blood. "Maaaaaaw, Va," the

shriek proclaimed. "Is CUT above the rest?"

The witness were among the scores of

journalists down last week to cover this

hottest battle in the West.

It was the battle of the severed penis.

I went to John Wayne Bobbitt. After three

days of testimony and just four hours of

deliberations, the nine women and three

men of the jury acquitted Bobbitt, a 35-year-old

former owner of a mental health clinic.

The jury's verdict surrounding the case is

really about Round 3—the trial of Bobbitt's

wife, Larena, set to begin on Nov. 20. She

is charged with malicious wounding for

slitting off her husband's penis with an

eight-inch razor. The 35-year-old

former owner of a mental health clinic

born woman has said that she attacked her

husband only after he had raped her. With

his acquittal, John Bobbitt's defense lawyer

said that Larena would likely strike a

deal with prosecutors to plead guilty to a

first-degree charge. "She took the

blame," said Bobbitt's attorney, David

Boert, who was appointed to prosecute

the husband's wife's case. "But that

wasn't what she did."

Whether Larena Bobbitt was the victim of

alone, and if so, whether her actions were

in fact justified, have been the subject of

heated public debate. The case, which has

come to symbolize an assault on male

rights, has become a rallying point for

both rape victims' advocates and for men

who insist on their rights—and has provided

much fodder for the media.

In the West

action area, some women went

trick-or-treating with bag

wooden legions and Larena

look-alike wigs. And

in California, author Camille

Paglia compared Larena Bobbitt to a

teenager in the Boston

trial. "It's a whole

other world," she said. "It's

in a way a

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John Bobbitt (right) acquitted

tied the knife, then returned to her sleeping husband and sliced off his penis. She was smiling back, said prosecutor Boert, "in the very thing that harmed her."

The jury, evidently, remained uncon-

vinced. John Bobbitt's lawyer, Gregory

Murphy, portrayed Larena as an

innocent seeking a life of luxury in

America, and re-

counted of her husband's working-class

roots. Murphy painted out that Larena

was seeking revenge for the alleged

assault. On the stand, John

demanded that his wife

and accused that intercourse on the night

in question had been consensual. Bobbitt

testified that after talking

he "felt a jerk, a jerk on my penis. I

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Larena Bobbitt (left) accused



Stentor chief  
Jocelyn Côté-  
Hura: The 1990s  
are going to be  
the decade of  
the consumer

# RULES TO DIAL BY

## COMPANIES CLASH OVER THE FUTURE OF PHONING

**T**he Consumer Association of Canada (CAC) is accustomed to fighting battles in which it plays David to some corporate giant's Goliath. But at the current hearings of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in Ottawa, the resistance is even more striking. The hearings are dealing with the transformation of Canada's monopoly telephone system into a competitive, multi-level telecommunications industry. Despite the impact of this reorganizing sector on Canadian consumers and despite the billions and legal firms hired by the corporations involved, the CAC, for the first time ever at a major telephone hearing, will not participate. "Even if we were there, the hearings would be

one-sided," says CAC executive director Renée Daly Todd. "There would be a few of us representing the consumer's interest against dozens of lawyers and technical experts appearing on behalf of the companies." But because the federal government refused to provide funding for the association to prepare its arguments, it cannot afford to be present. "We should be there representing the individual consumers," said Todd. "Almost everything that will be decided will have an impact on them."

The hearings, which began Nov. 1 and are expected to continue until early December, are the second stage in the opening of Canada's highly regulated telecommunications industry to competition. In

linked telephone companies such as Bell Canada. Stentor wants a rapid move to deregulation and wants permission to raise local rates. In the other camp are United Communications Inc. and the other recent entrants in the industry. United is proposing a complicated new regulatory system that would set per-call caps. It also wants the CRTC to refuse to allow the telephone companies to raise local rates for at least five years, because it fears that the telephone companies will see revenues from local service to subsidize long-distance rates.

In the middle of that corporate standoff are Canadian consumers including residential and business telephone users as well as other interest groups who have a stake in the future of the telecommunications industry. "The consumer may have underestimated the Stentor's bid if you spring last year [with deregulation]," says Michael Joseph, a telecommunications law expert at the University of Toronto. "Now it's clear to

figure out how it's going to regulate the industry to make sure that consumers get the benefits of the competition it's created."

Although significant changes are already under way in the long-distance telephone market, in that most residential telephone subscribers have no long-distance charges, that is because all participants in that newly deregulated sector are concentrating their efforts on providing enhanced services for the more lucrative business market. According to statistics provided by United, the cost of long-distance services to residential and small business users has fallen by just two per cent this year. At the same time, however, the costs of some key business services (including 900's lines and 800 numbers, where potential competition is the heaviest), have dropped by as much as 35 per cent.

Under the CRTC's decision last year, the traditional telephone companies retained their monopoly in the local telephone market. And they are still the dominant participants by far in all of the principal long-distance markets. In the \$4-billion inter-city market, for example, the established telephone companies still have an estimated 77-per-cent share of the market. In turn, United has eight per cent and the other new competitors have 15 per cent combined. In the \$5.5-billion domestic long-distance market the newcomers are not yet truly competitive because their customers must still use one of 17 networks to use the service. As a result, the large provincial telephone companies have kept 85 per cent of that business. Still, even the first indications of approaching competition have shaken the telephone companies. Said Jocelyn Côté-Hura, chief executive of Stentor's government relations arm: "The big organizations going through dramatic change, with reorganizing a culture shock. The 1990s are going to be the decade of the consumer."

The turmoil in the industry is reflected in the companies' recent financial results. Last week, Rogers Communications Inc., United's largest shareholder, reported a \$132-million loss for its third quarter and said it may have to take another \$100-million charge in the fourth quarter as its share of a possible restructuring at United. Meanwhile, Bell Canada's second- to third-quarter earnings, as revealed at the CRTC hearing just a week earlier, said that its earnings at ST fell only a year on the job. Bell Canada's earnings for the first nine months of the year were \$380 million, down 21 per cent compared with the same period last year. In September, Bell announced that it would reduce its workforce by 3,000 to 3,500 employees.

Partly as a response to such financial pressures, Stentor's proposal to this round at CRTC hearings strongly advocates a "rapid transition from a regulatory-driven to a market-driven environment." The consortium wants the government to immediately start withdrawing from the regulation of the rest of the industry and, at the same time, it also wants the price of local telephone ser-

## Business Notes

### AIR CANADA TAKES FLIGHT

Air Canada of Montreal reported a profit of \$45 million for the third quarter of the year, compared with a \$14 million loss for the same period a year ago. At the same time, the airline announced the sale of \$30 million worth of shares and warrants through a group of Bay Street investment dealers. The airline has already raised \$200 million cash through recent asset sales. Meanwhile, the Federal Court of Appeal ruled that the federal Competition Tribunal had the authority to hear a request by Canadian Airlines and its Calgary-based parent company, PWA Corp., to subdivide the 767s the Gemini computerized reservation system that PWA partly owns with Air Canada. PWA wants to leave Gemini as a key condition to close a \$240-million investment from AMR Corp. at Fort Worth, Texas, for parent company's American Airlines. Air Canada had argued that the tribunal should not be allowed to adjudicate the dispute.

### WORKERS CHOPPED

British-owned Perimeter Systems Canada, the hiring contractor in the cancelled railway helicopter program, plans to lay off about 700 workers across Canada. About 300 employees will be terminated in Montreal and a total of 200 more in Winnipeg and Ottawa, leaving just 800 employees on the payroll. The company also plans to seek between \$500 million and \$200 million in compensation from Ottawa for losing the contract.

### INCHING FORWARD

The composite leading indicator, Statistics Canada's hiring contractor in the economic health, was up by 0.5 per cent in October. The federal agency noted that the increase follows gains of 0.4 per cent in September and 0.6 per cent in August. The composite indicator is a basket of 20 key indicators, from housing to the top of industry—that are considered sensitive to changes in the economy. According to economists, the numbers portend slow but steady growth.

### WORKING TOGETHER

The 35,000-member Teachers union in Quebec has joined forces with the former arch-rival, the 50,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor. In the past, the two groups have battled over which organization would represent workers of Maisonneuve-Francis and Fribourg center services. The Teachers won both contests, absorbing 3,000 workers.

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## BUSINESS

vies in service. Currently, although competition has been introduced in some parts of the industry, the regulatory system—insisting the ability to raise prices—is still controlled by the CRTC. Senzani's opening statement to the commission last week noted that, "Ultimately the companies' proposal envisions a fully competitive environment where all the suppliers are able to enter all lines of business."

In anticipation of that day, Sasktel, the Saskatchewan-government owned telephone company, announced in August that it was conducting a video-on-demand experiment in 40 homes in Regina. This apparent incursion by a telephone company into the broadcast sector, which lacked the approval of the CRTC, sitting in its role as a broadcast regulator, signalled that the telephone companies were beginning to get serious—and regulators—about entering the broadcast business. The CRTC's regulator immediately told them to stop, underwriting the challenge of moving in an industry in which the technology is outpacing the regulatory ability to maintain rules.

The Sasktel initiative is just one of a broad set of so-called convergence projects underway in Canada. Convergence is the point of technological development at which the technical capabilities of the cable television companies' cable lines and the telephone companies' wires began to merge, allowing both kinds of companies to deliver the services traditionally supplied by the others—plus a host of new ones. In addition to offering more choices of routing products, in the future the telecommunications industry is going to merge the capabilities of television, telephone and computers and provide services from home banking and interactive

television to access to movies and information data banks that may allow users to skip into electronic libraries without leaving home.

Although issues directly relating to such convergence will not be reviewed in the current round of hearings, they will be at the top of the CRTC's agenda in the next few years. In fact, in late studies, just before the year seems over, a \$375-million merger in the United States between Bell Atlantic Corp., one of the large U.S. telephone companies, and Time-Communications Inc., a major cable

television company, showed that convergence was progressing more quickly than many in the industry had predicted. That U.S. development also gave Canadian companies a new pool to use on the CRTC to encourage the commission to start preparing for its imminent arrival in Canada.

The path to introduce convergence, however, is a more pressing problem for the telephone companies than it is for their rival, CdnTel. One of CdnTel's largest shareholders, Rogers, is a major Toronto cable television and telecommunications operator and is already operating in a broad range of telecommunications businesses. As a result, in its proposal before the CRTC, Rogers, in its proposal before the CRTC, is seeking a much less radical change to the regulatory system than the telephone companies. Although it was the first major company to aggressively pursue convergence opportunities, it is now more reluctant to give up the protection offered by the old regulatory system.

Uttal argues that the CRTC's presence is essential to protect it, and the other newcomers, from the over-whelming market strength of the telephone companies that still dominate the telephone network. Richard Shornberg, CdnTel's executive vice-president of strategic planning and external affairs, says

*Consumers take the backseat as competition drives the phone market*

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## How Conrad Black reinvented himself

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Since it was the *Enlightenment* Man, my 1982 biography of Canada's quintessential Darwinian capitalist that first documented the deals that spawned his fortune. The always laid claim to having invented Conrad Black—though it's never been clear to me whether that should be taken as blame or credit.

Over time, after first reading his autobiography, *A Life in Progress* (Key Porter Books, \$29.95). It is a Taj Mahal to his ego, falling between *Machiavelli* and *Robin Leach*, revealing a life in progress. Black recounts a chilling and sometimes desecrating child life and times, never using a single word when his friends will serve. Current wife Barbara Anselmi, for example, is described as being "permeated" by, which according to *The Gleaner* (anthology) means "something shown and beyond artifice," while former partner Barbara Brown is charged for his "psychological" objectives, which seems benign to his children.

There's a self-indulgent snippet on page 440, when Black refers to "the life I led early as a London newspaper owner." It's entirely in character for Black to say himself in character for Black to say himself. Black is entitled to privilege by dint of his own efforts, and certainly his corporate achievements have been impressive. His newspapers now boast a daily circulation of 4.5 million, a total surpassed only by Rupert Murdoch and the U.S. *Wall Street Journal*. The Black philosopher Prince of Mythen's view that a man is what he does with power. It is that control, Black is at least honest to say, he has the power he needs and he has the power he needs. It is that control, Black is at least honest to say, he has the power he needs and he has the power he needs.

Black complains that "virtually everyone except Anglo-Saxon, able-bodied, middle-aged, heterosexual, male, middle-class Ontarians or

*This big mother of a book is a Taj Mahal to his ego, falling between Machiavelli and Robin Leach, revealing a life in progress*

now the officially recognized brand of a sub-neurotic privilege." All qualities, based on a lively and rare chronic of power seized and exercised. Black's wit and insight illuminate every page on his both corporate and psychological the power grooves who feel they have a master line between.

These are some of the other worthwhile business books of the season.

**K.C.: The Biography of K.C. Irving** (Key Porter Books Ltd., \$29.95). This controversial biography by New Brunswick journalist Douglas How and Ralph Costello strikes a fair balance between promoting an controversial subject, yet documenting some of the truth of that larger corporate dealer. Kenneth Callaghan, Irving built one of Canada's largest business empires—the virtually turned New Brunswick into an fortress—without ever being aware that the age of his father was over. In his final days, when he had escaped to his fortress in his last, K.C.'s last was still in St. John and he returned home as often as his only status allowed. Do use such out, when he was asked by his own son (who really are a secretive family) whether the St-John estate of the

family fortune published in *Fortune* magazine was correct. K.C. replied "It's not all."

**Fireworks: The Investment of a Lifetime** (Key Porter Books Ltd., \$29.95). Judy Selzer is the author of the *Fortune* magazine and in three high quarters (in which it opened the introduction) he catches the triumphs and misadventure of his controversial son as an investor. This book deserves to be read because hardly any investor for speculation, as Selzer points to his own self has written such an intimate journal of his in Canada's fastest state. According to Selzer's investment philosophy, the stock market works more like a barometer than a thermometer, capturing changes in sentiment, rather than becoming universally recognized, before then correctly reflecting the market and quakes of the moment. He used his beliefs in much as his last in public service of billions and in his last in public service of billions and in his last in public service of billions.

**Trade to Black: A Requiem for the CBC** (Doubleday & Co., \$29.95)—At a time when the federal treasury is starved for funds, Canada's public broadcaster has been a victim of financial cutbacks so often that it has lost its impact. Wayne Sze, a former director of Vancouver's CBC TV station, documents what he describes as the institution's death throes. His analysis is emotional but right on target. Under the liberal leadership of Gerard Vowles and Patrick Watson, Mother Corp. has lost any sense of mission, selling out to the commercial marketplace and cutting off the regional programming that was once its lifeline. The network's decision to kill *The Journal*, its only compelling national public affairs show, for the same and shoddily produced *Prime Time Live* is the best example of a cut a stability or refusal to respect its viewers. "The corporation's first priority," Sze rightly notes, "is to make profits. Its audience wasn't a client base, and to enhance our cultural identity." Amen.

**The Glitter Girls: Characteristics of an Era of Glamour** (Macmillan Canada, \$27.95)—There's something surely admirable about Rosemary Sze's surprisingly tough-minded criticism of how Toronto's pit boys get their jollies. The charity balls that spawned a generation of women who devote their energies and their husbands bank accounts to clothing show ladies seem, in retrospect, to have been symptoms of an age of plenty that never really was. The *Glitter Girls* were consumed by the bubble of the 1980s, moreover, to that book by Sze, a former *Globe* and *West* society columnist, reads more like the report of an anthropologist, the for a lost time than the lively recounting of a hot time. Sze's dose, her research and insight do not mean that she sells but her intention to trap all her social butterflies in the same net occasionally lets her slip. Sze's chapter on the shrewdly astute (as Tory, for example, doesn't credit to subject with having a brain as well as a razor-sharp tongue.

## SPORTS

### A game up for grabs Can university ball survive an Americanized CFL?

For David Semple, the 1980 Vancouver Cup was the peak of his brief three-year stint as a pass mover for the University of Western Ontario Mustangs. With a record over 35,000 watching at Toronto's SkyDome, Semple, head of the University of Western Ontario, led the team to a 10-1 record.

But the Cup that signifies the Canadian university football championship. Since leaving the Mustangs, Semple, now 34, has spent last season publishing his skills with the Calgary Stampede of the Canadian Football League and this year set a CFL record for receptions by a Canadian. But for the stars of the 1995 Varsity Cup, which will be played Nov. 20 at SkyDome between the University of Calgary Dinos and the University of Toronto's Varsity Blues, finding a job in the CFL may be much more difficult. Most university players predict that, as the professional league continues to expand in the United States, it will be forced to reduce the number of roster spots formerly reserved for Canadian players. "A couple of years down the road, Canadian will simply be in backup roles or on special teams," said Semple, "because coming out of university it's just too difficult to compete with American players."

But even one of tight money and budget cuts, many university football coaches and players are more concerned about the immediate future of the college game. Over the past few years, former students of their schools—now in the CFL—have been cutting back on the number of players on their rosters. The University of Western Ontario's 1995 Varsity Cup game, now played at SkyDome every year, is a highly probable showcase. It presently close to \$1 million annually in ticket sales and corporate sponsorship for the Ontario-based Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union. "It's becoming a cultural event for students," said Mustangs head coach Larry Hayler. "If you're a corporate sponsor you want to be associated with it because you have bright young men playing at a high level."



Calgary's Dinosaurus beating St. Mary's budget cutbacks

That level has been high enough to win jobs in the CFL—led by the league's quota system. Twenty of the 37 players on each team must be Canadian—except on the new Sacramento Gold Miners, who are not bound by the quota and have no Canadian players. Gold Miners with a record of six wins and 12 losses. In many cases, Canadian players are less assured than their American counterparts. But CFL issues, in order to meet the quota requirements, allow many Canadian seasons to develop their skills. "It's a perfect example of how the system works," says Semple. "Without the CFL (I wouldn't have made Calgary)."

This winter, CFL officials hope to meet with player representatives to begin discussing changes in the quota system. Commissioner Larry Smith says that the league cannot impose a Canadian content requirement on American-based teams, and he shows signs

soon to the United States as the key to survival. The second American team, Las Vegas, is scheduled to begin playing in 1997. "The era of prohibition is ending," declares Semple. "Canadian players have to recognize that they can compete on their own terms." Canadian university coaches and administrators contend that their game will survive the increasing Americanization of the CFL. They argue that, unlike the high-cost U.S. college football system, they have never designed their programs to turn out professional players. The players' career, and they are well aware of the odds to any one of the 120 or so dinks who played varsity-level football at Canadian universities this fall, only 72 will be drafted by CFL teams for tryouts and signing—and few that 50 does will make the grade. "My goal is to play pro," says Mustangs fullback Tim Trindler, one of the top players in the country. "The one of the biggest things the game out of football is the knowledge. I will probably keep them for the rest of my life."

Even at some of the largest universities, however, financial constraints pose the biggest threat to the future of the sport. Three years ago, University of Alberta administrators decided to scrap their football program to meet more athletic needs. Edmonton's Edwin Zeman said that former players managed to raise \$300,000 per year to keep the team alive through holding such fund-raising events as a celebrity dinner (featuring Hockey Hall of Famer Ed Stasiuk) and a golf tournament. Warren Moss, who began his professional career with the Edmonton Eskimos at the University of Alberta, said that former players have also helped to save the Alberta football team. Last December, they agreed to raise half the money required to run the team over the next five years, at about \$125,000 annually, provided the administration contributed the balance of the funding. And at St. Mary's University, a U.S. football school has raised \$1 million over the past three years and hope to establish a 55-million endowment fund to support the team permanently.

At other universities, coaches have been forced to raise their issues on shoeing budgets. The Halifax St. Mary's University Hawks, the top-ranked team in Canada after the regular season, has one paid head coach who relies on several former CFL players to serve as unpaid assistants. But Canadian coaches need support that, despite financial constraints, they are finding few teams that are a credit to their schools—and can play some football, too.

DARCY JENSEN



## AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY



BY RAL CORIELLO

*History, after all, is the memory of a nation*  
—John F. Kennedy, 1963/1968

**H**e moved west along Main Street in an open car, a terrible, bad-looking, in-the-automobile Dallas sun-which, trailing his seven-year-old son and waving to the cheering lunch-hour crowds. President John F. Kennedy had come to Texas to promote his new Democratic and make a speech at the Dallas Trade Mart. Inside his car sat his glamorous wife, Jacqueline. Ahead of them on the pump seats were their hands—Texas governor John Connally and his wife Nellie. At 12:30 p.m., the motorcade turned north off Main onto Houston Street, Nellie Connally, raising her voice over the noise of the crowd and the police motorcycles, said, "Mr. President, you can't say [Dallas doesn't love you]." At 12:30 p.m., as the procession swung around Dealey Plaza towards the Sherman Presidential Library, shots were fired from a sixth-floor window of the nearby Texas School Depository. The president was hit and was Connally. A Secret Service agent flung himself protectively over the slumping Kennedy and stayed there, sprawled on the copper-plated rear deck, as the motorcade sped to Parkland Memorial Hospital. There, Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1 p.m.

Around the world, the news of America's fourth presidential assassination is a century from millions in dis-

belief and several almost to magical reality. Crowds stood vigil at U.S. embassies in Europe, Asia and Latin America. In the United States and Canada, people in thousands of shops, bistros and saloons did nothing and gathered around coffee and TV sets. Tears ran down the face of CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite and viewers cried with him. Prime Minister Lester Pearson offered condolences and prepared to join global dignitaries in Washington for the funeral. The leader of the free world was dead, Coriello had watched in the crash of a rifle shot and, for a shocked America, the grieving had only just begun.

Ahead lay the murders of Bobby Kennedy and Martin

Luther King, the appalling torment of Vietnam, Kent State, riots and burning cities. For the Dallas police, there was no time for mourning. An hour and 15 minutes after Kennedy was pronounced dead, they barged into a movie theater showing *War and Peace* and arrested a luckless one-time detective in the honest Union called Lee Harvey Oswald, wanted for the fatal shooting moments before at polo-horse J. D. Tippit. When police returned Oswald's flight from the book depository where he worked, they charged they had Kennedy's assassin in their hands. But less than 48 hours later, Jack Ruby, a small-time hoodlum and strip-club owner, shot and killed Oswald in the basement of Dallas City Hall. Convicted and sentenced to death, Ruby died in jail of cancer. In September, 1966, the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald, acting alone, had killed both Kennedy and Tippit but had not known Ruby.

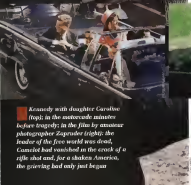
But to the years passed, millions of Americans grew profoundly skeptical. Some 300 books, dozens of TV docu-series and the blockbuster 1991 movie *JFK* have alleged conspiracies or coverups. Oswald was not the only shooter. Oswald was a scapegoat, Oswald was in the pay of Cuba's Castro, the CIA, the FBI, the Pentagon, the Mafia, the Seventh, left-wingers, right-wingers. Oswald was not really Oswald but a shadowy somebody else. Ruby, who claimed to be Jacqueline Kennedy's avenger, was really hired by the people who hated Oswald and did not want him to live. Repeated official denials and rebuttals have not discouraged the conspiracy theorists or reduced public incen-

ding the Secret Service nervous, but the people were reaching over the fence to shake his hand, to touch him, and he was reaching out to them."

Shortly after the presidential motorcade left for downtown Dallas, Ewell was on the freeway heading back to his office when Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry sped past in the opposite direction. "Then, I saw the open Kennedy limousine and I knew something was out of order because there was this man stretched across the middle deck." At police headquarters, a detective hurried past him to a waiting jacked car. "I said, 'Gerry, what the hell's going on?' This idiot words were, 'Some son of a bitch just shot Kennedy.' I jumped in the back seat and went with them."

The schoolbook building was like a disturbed catfish, Ewell says in his flat Texas drawl. "There were squid cars and cops everywhere, cops still aiming shotguns up at the windows. A few minutes later, Gerry leaned out of the window on the sixth floor and said, 'Well, we know what he had for lunch—fried chicken.' You know what? All this time, I'm not sure just what the hell I'm doing. I'm not taking any notes, I'm just kinda, you know, in a hunch."

Who's word came that a policeman had been shot at the city's Oak Cliff district, Ewell moved police who were tracking his assistant. "So I end up at the Texas Theatre when they catch him. As I looked over the balcony railing, it was at that moment that the cops reached Lee Harvey. When he tried to shoot one of them, there was a scuffle and they fell

THIRTY YEARS  
LATER, JFK'S  
ASSASSINATION  
LIVES ON IN  
MEMORY

Kennedy with daughter Caroline (top); in the motorcade minutes before tragedy; in the film by amateur photographer Zapruder (right); the leader of the free world was dead, Coriello had watched in the crash of a rifle shot and, for a shaken America, the grieving had only just begun



del and several almost to magical reality. Crowds stood vigil at U.S. embassies in Europe, Asia and Latin America. In the United States and Canada, people in thousands of shops, bistros and saloons did nothing and gathered around coffee and TV sets. Tears ran down the face of CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite and viewers cried with him. Prime Minister Lester Pearson offered condolences and prepared to join global dignitaries in Washington for the funeral. The leader of the free world was dead, Coriello had watched in the crash of a rifle shot and, for a shocked America, the grieving had only just begun.

Ahead lay the murders of Bobby Kennedy and Martin

King. The murder of John Kennedy has become America's greatest ever whodunit, its origins preserved in the memories of those who were in Dallas that fateful day.

By 10 a.m., hundreds of people had gathered along the state-fair security fence at Love Field in a light rain, hoping to catch a glimpse of the Kennedys. Moments before Air Force One came into view, the men stopped and as the plane landed, the sun came out. "I still sit in this day remembering Jackie getting off that plane," says Jim Ewell, then *The Dallas Morning News* police reporter and now the public relations spokesman for the Dallas County Sheriff's Department. "Kennedy went up to the fence, and I'm sure it was made

between the seats and the rest of the cops rushed up and piled in. I will always remember that somebody was trying to poke the barrel of a shotgun down among all the heads and arms and shoulders of those cops fighting Lee Harvey."

Henry Wade, former FBI agent and Second World War U.S. navy veteran, was Dallas County district attorney from 1958 to 1987 and, by 1963, had successfully prosecuted 25 murder cases. Now 70, he has been a widower for six years, has switched from smoking tobacco to chewing it and is content to a law firm in north Dallas. He was in the crowd awaiting Kennedy at the Dallas Trade Mart when word came that the president and governor Connally, a longtime



Johnson taking the oath of office, the old Texas School Book Depository and its infamous window (left): Leevalle, then and now (below): 'I saw Ruby standing there with a gun. About then, he made two short steps and double-clutched the 38 into Queen's stomach.'



Henry Wade believes he could have won a conviction and that Oswald would have been sentenced to death. His death as it turned out, was inevitable.

Jack Linselle is 73 and comes from a village called Detroit in Red River County, Texas. "I think my wife married me because she thought I'd take her to the big city," he chuckles. "Their children grow up and long gone, they live beyond Lake Ray Hubbard in the Dallas suburbs of Garland. In 1983, Linselle was a Dallas police detective and on Sunday, Nov. 20, was about to become one of the most widely recognized players in the mass-murder drama.

town Chief Curry, an-  
gored by rumors that the  
wield had been beaten  
was determined to show  
him publicly so that the  
TV cameras would display  
him undamaged. Shortly  
after 11 a.m., Secret Ser-  
vice, FBI and other law en-  
forcement agents had flanked the suspect on Oyster

"He had two different counters there and he said he wanted the black one, so I pulled, so we let him put it on," Lovelace says. "I had two sets of handcuffs on him and not an inch he wanted and then I had called his right arm as he pulled. I was kind of kidding him. I said, 'Well, Lee, if anybody shoots at me, I hope they're as good as dead as you are.' He kind of laughed the only time I saw him smile or laugh when he was in custody. The said, 'Yes, sir, and I'm going to shoot at me.' He just kept being sarcastic or in some way, but, 'Well, if anybody does know what to do.' And he said to follow you so they can tell you. In that case, you're pretty much at anyone's mercy."

Oswald and Lovell, wearing a pale grey Stetson and his only Norman Macraus suit, rode the elevator from the third floor to the basement and walked along a short corridor to the parking garage.

"All the floodlights from the TV cameras came on and we were blinded momentarily. I couldn't see a thing," Leavelle recalls. "Out of the corner of my eye, I saw Rocky standing there with a gun at his side. About that same instant, he made two short sprints and double-scooped that 38-into Oswald's stomach. I had Oswald by the belt in addition to being hand-cuffed to him, and I tried to jerk him behind me, but all I succeeded in doing was turning

**Clockwise, from left:** Jackie Kennedy, a book editor in New York City; son John, a lawyer, cycling with actress Daryl Hannah's daughter Corinne, a lawyer and mother of three, with husband Edwin Schlossberg; Jackie and her children on the Capitol steps the day of the funeral; American's royal family

**Top right:** A black and white portrait of Jackie Kennedy looking directly at the camera.

**Bottom right:** A black and white photo of Lee Harvey Oswald and a woman, likely Marina Oswald, standing together.

**Middle right:** A black and white photo of a man in a red jacket and a woman in a police uniform, possibly during the investigation of the assassination.

**Left:** A large black and white photo of the Kennedy family (Jackie, John, Robert, and the children) walking down the steps of the White House.

**C**lockwise, from left: Jackie Ruby, a book editor in New York City; van John, a lawyer, cycling with actress Daryl Hannah; daughter Corinne, a lawyer and mother of three with husband Edwin Schlossberg; Jackie and her children on the Capitol steps the day of the famous American's royal feast

his body a little bit so that instead of hitting him dead centre, it hit him about four inches to the left of the navel."

Leavelle grabbed Ruby with his bare hands and shoved him backward. Other doctors seized both the gun and Ruby. An ambulance took Gossard to Parkland hospital where he was put in the same emergency operating room that had received Kennedy, and Dr. Malcolm Perry, part of the team that had tried to save the president, operated to stop the severed aorta. At 1:47 p.m., Gossard was pronounced dead.

Lowell had had enough of televised polo work. The next day, Monday the 25th, he whisked Ruby from City Hall to the court courthouse without telling even his live-in spouse—"and he not huffy about that."

Baby was badly frightened. "On the way down in the elevator," Llewellyn remembers, "he was willing to wear my hat and my coat and everything because he was afraid some body was going to shoot him. I said, 'Jack, you ain't worth killin', nobody's going to shoot you.' Then, I said, 'In all the years I've known you, you've never done anything to hurt the police, but you didn't do us any favor on this.' And he said, 'All I wanted to do was be a hero. I just didn't know how to do it.'"

figured we'd change him with another but the grand jury would say, 'Jack that's a bad thing you done shavin' Oswald, but since he needs to kill' anyhow, we going to execute you this time but don't do it again.' And he could stand at the front door of his club and people would come from far and wide to shake the hand of the man who shot the assassin."

That same day while kings, emperors and prime ministers bowed their heads in homage to the memory of a martyred president at Arlington National Cemetery near Washington, Lee Harvey Oswald was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery at Arlington Texas, between Dallas and Fort Worth. There were five mourners—Oswald's wife, Marina, his brother Robert, in mother and his two infant children. The Rev. Louis Saunders, secretary of the Fort Worth District Council of Elks Inc., says that he led

But Lee Harvey Oswald did not stay buried. In 1961, British author Michael Reddison, who had written a book contending that the body in the Arlington grave was that of a Soviet spy, got a court order for exhumation. Fort Worth funeral director Paul Groody, who had put Oswald into the ground 18 years before, refused to dig it up.

New 74 already says that he found somebody had been there almost at first. The street was covered with concrete slabs containing the body, but he broke them probably when it fell while being lifted from the ground. Grody surmises in any case, he delivered the body to the Bay Medical Center in Dallas where, two years later, a pathologist confirmed that the teeth were indeed those of Lee Harvey Oswald.

However, says Groody, the body he collected from Parkland hospital in 1963 had undergone so many changes that it included a cranial cap—opening the skull. “But when we dug him up,” he says, “I didn’t see any evidence that the skull had been reopened.”

“You think the guy wasn’t Oswald?”

“Yup, I’m kind of convinced of that.”

“So what did they do, replace the teeth?”

“Replaced the head. Somebody went in

"Same guy who was groomed to look like him, but remember, it's only a dumb old ex-deviser talking."

For years after Kennedy's murder, Dallas was reviled across America. Some newspaper stories called it "Murder City" and dwelled on

as crime and violence and boozing right-wing extremists. People from Dallas asked me to return several times to other cities if they panicked when they were from "You know what I think about that?" says Barry Wade. "When they killed Bobby Kennedy in Los Angeles and Martin Luther King in Memphis, people began thinking, 'Why, this can happen in my city.'"

On the drive in from the airport, the city's acronym, scripted skyline—exactly Dallas by the Dallas TV women—appears suddenly in the distance, like a mirage on the north Texas plain. But it is more a colossal monument to fading white prosperity than to progress—Dallas is a troubled community. As happened in other big U.S. cities following de segregation, most of the white population fled to the suburbs. In 200 square blocks of downtown, there are big and large, only office buildings and hotels. No shops, no movie houses, no grocers, no department stores, only one apartment building. "There's a lot of middle-class people here, I would say, then in the late Sixties," says Doreen Payne, a journalism professor at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. "There's a lot of free-wheeling happening in Dallas, for years. But it was common to all the problems of the big cities of the East. But now, we have all the problems and I can't see a tomorrow."

No matter where the future takes the 150-year-old city on the Trinity River, it will never quite shake its past. In the history of high-level murder and intrigue, Dealey Plaza has joined the seats of power of Carter's White House, the Ford Theater of Lincoln's Washington, the summit of Archibald's Ironworks in St. Louis. And the towers came to stand at the grassy lawn and the triple underpass to take patients of the old Texas School Book Depository—now the Dallas County Administration Building.

On the sixth floor, there is a low-ceilinged museum called simply The Sixth Floor. There are large wall-mounted photographs of the Kennedys in Washington, in Berlin, in Dallas, drinking, waving, smiling. In the glass, people watch videos of the fatal motorcade, of the president's 1963 inaugural address. (Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.) The corner containing the window from which Oswald is said to have fired the fatal shot has been boarded off behind glass, and people stare at the original bare wooden floor inside.

Downtown, a tourist souvenir shop sells a large assortment of books about Kennedy and the assassination, classic wrapped paper pages of 1962 newspapers, and old and video tapes—VHS or Betamax. *The Day After the Assassination*, *The Kennedy Years*.

Outside, there is a small plaque on the front of the building that reads, in part: "On Nov. 22, 1963, the building gained national notoriety when Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly shot and killed president John F. Kennedy from a sixth-floor window in the presidential motorcade passing the site. Over the years, the word 'allegedly' has been understood by repeated guessing." □



The second-floor reading room of the U.S. National Archives in Washington is crisscrossed most days with conspiracy buffs, going over papers that, at some stage, consist of nothing more than newspaper clippings that the DA inexplicably stamped "secret." There are 500,000 pages of documents in all, including 150,000 from the CIA, released in August in accordance with a 1986 act of Congress, they amount to the largest disclosure ever of material related to the assassination of president John F. Kennedy: more papers are still to be made public. Those released so far—yellowed, creased, often dog-eared and contained in 1,053 cardboard file boxes—reveal much evidence of official incompetence and coverups of wild schemes. But there is no smoking gun—nothing that proves the Warren Commission wrong in its basic assertion that lone gunman Lee Harvey Oswald killed the president.

Still, recent polls show that between 72 and 80 per cent of Americans believe there was a conspiracy. The major arguments for that view:

- One gunman fired three shots from a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository. One missed the motorcade, the other hit the president. However, at almost the same instant that Kennedy was hit, so was Texas governor John Connally, sitting in front of him. If Connally was struck by a separate bullet, there had to be a second gunman and thus a conspiracy. For one bullet to pass through Kennedy's neck, skip through the air, hit Connally in the back, and the front of his chest, smash through his right wrist and come to rest in his left thigh, it had to change course several times. It had to be a "magic bullet."

## AMERICA'S ENDURING MYSTERY: WAS OSWALD A LONE ASSASSIN?

■ Oswald's polls show that as many as 80 per cent of Americans believe there was a conspiracy

And it is that day was an expert, most of the crack reports brought in by the Pentagon have failed to reproduce the first. But in the U.S. marine, Oswald was remembered as a poor shot, and friends who hunted with him say he was mediocre.

- The Warren Commission worked under such time pressure and bureaucratic constraint that it was often sloppy. Chief Justice Earl Warren told his colleagues that it was important to world peace that the American public not believe that the Soviet Union or Cuba were involved. He was prejudiced to find a lone assassin.

On the other hand:

- The most recent and thorough investigation of the "magic bullet" included a computerized reconstruction. Utterly though it seems, the investigation concluded that one bullet could indeed have passed through the president and continued on to hit Connally.

- In recent years, panels of doctors have examined the autopsy photographs and X-rays of Kennedy's body. All but one of the doctors said the shots came from the rear.

- The Zapruder film, and still photographs taken at the time, have been computer-analyzed. They show the grassy field in detail. Not only is there no sign of a second gunman, but many of the witnesses who claim to have been on the lawn and heard shots coming from behind them were not where they said they were.

- Nearly all the conspiracy theories point to at least one more gunman and a backup force of planners and planners. And yet, in the 30 years since the shooting, no one has produced proof that anyone other than Oswald was involved. If there really had been a conspiracy, something would almost certainly have leaked by now. Either Oswald acted alone, or it is the best cover-up in history.

WILLIAM LATHIN in Washington

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## SPECIAL REPORT

### THE MOST VIVIDLY RECALLED U.S. PRESIDENT

# WHY CANADA WEPT



BY CHARLES LYNCH

**T**wo United States presidents have meant as much to Canadians as to Americans. It may be that both were more popular in Canada than in their homeland: Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first, John F. Kennedy the second, and most vividly remembered of the two, though his achievements were national, not transatlantic.

Canada's prolonged love affair with these two men may have been noted in the fact that Snowdon, Ontario, knew them both better they became the most powerful leaders in the world—Roosevelt through his ties with Campobello, N.B., Kennedy as the complete Boston, looking back to the days when "the Boston States" meet rose to Hamilton and Montreal, Toronto or points west.

When Kennedy grew up in Massachusetts, one of his families there had roots in the Atlantic provinces. Kennedy's maternal ancestors, the Fitzgeralds, landed from Ireland in New Brunswick before moving on to Boston. To this day, Saint John calls and the most Irish city in Canada, a smaller version of the Massachusetts capital.

Jack Kennedy himself came to Providence at the invitation of the

chancellor of the University of New Brunswick, Lord Beaverbrook. It was 1957, and Kennedy was introduced by Beaverbrook as "the next president of the United States." Kennedy responded with what came to be known as the "good fences make good neighbors" speech.

So Canada wept, too, when Kennedy was shot. It may be that had his head and become enshrined in letters, as all subsequent presidents except Ronald Reagan have been, the reaction to his would have turned sour long since, and there would be no honoring his anniversary. Vietnam might have won him as it did his successor. Today's media would have finished him, as his press secretary did.

But he fulfilled one of the prime conditions for reverence: he is lost or lost by the young. And dying spectacularly, with controversy thrown in that bubbles and looks with mystery to this day.

My youngest daughter was in her Grade 5 classroom at an Ottawa school the day Kennedy was shot, and the teacher wheeled in a TV set so the kids could watch history being made, something they would remember all their lives. And they have more vividly than they remember any of our prime ministers, even the Kennedy-esque Pierre Trudeau. More than they remember our prime minister of the day, Lester Pearson, whom Kennedy admired above all Canadians, as minutely as he despised Pearson's predecessor, John Diefenbaker.

**Visiting Parliament Hill in 1962, approaching an old warplane back square.**

My own experience as the day of Kennedy's assassination was unique, as that I was led to believe it was either Pearson or Diefenbaker who had been shot. It was in Jakarta in a round-the-world journalist's pocket and had arranged an interview with the Indonesian dictator Sukarno, at his mountain retreat in Bogor.

During the drive up-country, the Indonesian conducting officer turned to me and said, "Your leader has been shot."

Startled, I said, "Lester Pearson shot?"

The man shook his head.

"John Diefenbaker?" I asked.

The man "John" must have rung a bell, because the man nodded again, and I spent the rest of the 100 km drive mourning Dief, and was doing who could have shot him, and why.

It was only on arrival at Bogor that I found the Sukarno cabinet assembled, talking Kennedy's death as a victory for freedom (the Red Chinese also celebrated it as a bright day), and wondering whether Sukarno should go to Washington for the funeral. The answer was no and my interview was cancelled. I asked to be taken back to Jakarta.

Charles Lynch visited a decade ago as editor of Southern Press and was an Ottawa-based freelance journalist, author and broadcaster.

## SPECIAL REPORT

where the only refuge from the feature ran in Kennedy's death was the United States Embassy. So I went there, and stayed in the sheltering of trees.

My first sight of Kennedy had been at the Los Angeles Democratic convention that nominated him for the presidency in a bitter fight with Lyndon Johnson. It was a close-run thing, as was the subsequent election against Richard Nixon, and so to me it was to know how important the Kennedy family was, and how hungry for power was Kennedy's younger brother, Bobby. Without Bobby, there would have been no Kennedy in the White House, yet, watching him I developed a dislike that lasted until he, too, fell to an assassin's bullet. The recruiting of Johnson as vice-presidential candidate, and the casting of Jack and Jackie in the dress of a new age for America, overcame the public prejudice against a Roman Catholic, and concealed the momentum of the popular presidency of Dwight Eisenhower, the hero of the Second World War.

Kennedy ran as a war hero, too, and the voters fell for it, even as Canada, where we just down our own war heroes, we liked like, and even named our most famous mountain after him, though the name didn't stick and it reverted to Castle Mountain. Our mountain named for Kennedy, in the Yukon has had better luck.

Canadians were no strangers to Roman Catholics in office, though religious prejudices were as deep here as in most of the United States. But then the election of a Roman Catholic president was revolutionary, and it got Kennedy off to a roaring start with echoes of hope and renewal heard around the world.

The Canadian connection was special, from the time Kennedy came to Ottawa on his first foreign visit as president and aggravated his old wartime back injury planting a tree in the grounds of Government House. DeLoebaker took an instant dislike to "the young whippersnapper" and it was heightened when Kennedy addressed Parliament and called on Canada to accept her responsibilities and join the Organisation of American States. DeLoebaker regarded it as a command to "jump through the hoop" and said no.

The last anecdote on the DeLoebaker-Kennedy feud followed the discovery of a Wilsonian working paper in an East Block washbasin, the paper listing the things the United States should "yank" Canada to 66. DeLoebaker kept the paper as a reminder to resist all pressure from Washington. The legend is that Kennedy had scribbled in the margin "What do we do with the a-b-0 now?" Kennedy subsequently denied it, reportedly saying he couldn't have called DeLoebaker an a-b-0 when he didn't know he was one at the time.

His opinion aired during the Cuban missile crisis, the globe's closest brush with a Third World War. Canada was part of the North American Air Defence Agreement, along with the United States. Washington demanded that Soviet missiles on Cuban bases were a threat to continental security and put its forces on combat alert, expecting Canada to do likewise. DeLoebaker said no. Canadian defence minister Douglas Harkness sided with Kennedy and ordered a partial alert of Canadian forces, while advising DeLoebaker. The result was a split in the Canada-US defence alliance that would not be healed as long as neither DeLoebaker or Kennedy remained in office.

DeLoebaker, with a shove from Kennedy, was the first to go. "Things came to a head in the Canadian election of 1960, when a key issue was whether Canada was committed to taking U.S. nuclear warheads for Borear and aircraft missiles, DeLoebaker saying no, Lester Pearson saying yes. Kennedy backed Pearson and a letter

was circulated from U.S. ambassador Walter Rostow congratulating Pearson "for the unselfish manner of his decision."

Pearson won the election and ordered an investigation that led to the Rostow letter being branded a forgery. DeLoebaker dubbed Rostow "Rostowball" and kept copies of the "forgery" handy for the rest of his life.

Kennedy's influence in the 1960 Canadian election may have swung the balance, because pro-U.S. feeling was strong here, and Kennedy was more popular with Canadians than any foreign-born leader.

Pearson's grappling with the English-French question was reminiscent of Kennedy's approach to racial divisions in the United States, though both problems remain 30 years later. And there were traces of Kennedy in Dalton Camp's campaign to oust DeLoebaker as Conservative leader in 1967. Camp edited the youth wing of the party in his case.



**■ Kennedy and Pearson at Hyannis Port in 1963. The Canadian he advised most**

## HE FULFILLED A PRIME CONDITION FOR REMEMBRANCE BY DYING YOUNG

and it has always been my belief that he seemed for the leadership himself, believing he could raise the same emotions in Canada that Kennedy had. But DeLoebaker was too tough for Camp & Co. to swallow, and though they wanted him they had to settle for Robert Stastfeld as his successor. DeLoebaker's farewell speech to the parliamentary press gallery included what must have been the toughest attack ever voiced by a Canadian prime minister against a U.S. president, and DeLoebaker earned the Kennedy enigma to his grave, leaving subsequent rifts to grapple with the age and down of relations with the United States.

Stastfeld was billed as "the man with the winning way," but the trouble was he was a slow mover—and what there was of the Kennedy magic in the northern air moved in the Liberal and Pierre Trudeau. The story of Trudeauism is one of the strongest and most tricky in Canadian political history, but much of the fire displayed so suddenly by this slip, introverted man was on the Kennedy pattern, including the way after that was totally new, happening right in the open with women at all ages throwing themselves at his feet.

Part of the Kennedy inheritance was to complete the swing of Canada's attitude from British politics to America. The Second World War and FRO had led Canada away from British ways to a powerful role as honest broker between London and Washington. With Kennedy, Washington became predominant in Canadian foreign and even domestic affairs, and has remained so ever since.

Like Pierre Trudeau, he hasn't as still. His memory dominated the governments of all who followed him, just as the memory of Trudeau has taken its toll of Joe Clark, John Turner, Brian Mulroney and Kim Campbell, and casts a shadow over the prime ministry of Jean Charest. It is Pierre and Mulroney that we remember, just as we remember Jack and Jackie, almost as though the happy new world they promised actually had come to pass.

It didn't in other country, but in a cold climate the memories stay warm, along with the expectations that there must be a better way of doing politics. □

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**C**ar ads that touted acceleration rates, high-performance handling capabilities and a stylish silhouette now emphasize safety features. Chrysler owners whose lives have been saved by airbags in potentially fatal crashes provide an life testimonials in ads and in some cases in automotive shows.

"Because consumers are demanding safety, car ads are increasingly emphasizing safety features and focusing less on the high performance, speed and style they had used to lure consumers into their showrooms," says Michael McNeil, president, Canadian Automobile Association (CAA), Ottawa.

Canadian drivers do care more about safety than ever before. More than 60 per cent of the 30 000 motorists who responded to a 1992 Canadian Automobile Association identified air bags and anti-lock brakes (ABS) as features they would have on the next vehicle they purchase. In 1991, just half of the respondents said they would choose those features.

There is a much greater interest in automotive safety, says McNeil. "A number of factors have put up. When market share first became mandatory across Canada, only 60 percent of Canadians buckled up. Today, 80 percent of us wear our seatbelts. Canadians are also paying for optional safety equipment like airbags, ABS and child proof locks."

But Canadians have yet to make safety their number one priority. In a 1992 survey by the CAA, over 50 percent of respondents indicated that price is still the top consideration when purchasing a vehicle. The top three preferred features are power steering and brakes, ABS/ABS with cruise and delayed wipers.

Canada's population is now over 26.7 million and of that number over 9.2 million are 30 to 49 years-old according to Statistics Canada (1991) estimates. These baby boomers are raising families in a decade that is more focused on family life and values.

"Those over 30 and especially those with families are more concerned with safety," says Louise Leclair, supervisor of

traffic safety and training, Canada Safety Council, Ottawa. The average 16-year-old has yet to realize that he or she isn't invincible."

Although the number of fatalities has decreased, 10 Canadians are still dying in vehicle collisions every day, says The Canada Safety Council. In 1991, 5 684 people were killed according to Canadian Motor Vehicle Traffic Collision Statistics.

The emotional and economic costs of accidents are staggering. According to the Royal Commission on National Passenger



Transportation, traffic collisions cost an estimated \$9.34 billion annually in medical expenses, repair costs and lost income.

More media sensationalism and permeation of traffic accidents have dramatically increased public awareness of the risk of driving.

"A two-inch headline that someone 'Was killed in fiery crash' on the front page gets noticed and it scares people," says Leclair. "Few Canadians don't know someone who was killed or injured in a crash and that brings it close to home. As a result, people want to do everything they can to ensure it never happens to them."

Eighty-five percent of traffic collisions could have been prevented by the driver and General Motors of Canada has found that 58 percent of fatal crashes are due to driver error with aggressive driving and alcohol playing a key role.

Safety can be as simple as remaining alert and aware when driving.

Weather and road design also have an impact on safety and innovations like improved guard rails and breakaway light poles can make roads less dangerous. Eventually, "smarter" highways may give drivers even more information about the road ahead. One day your car and the highway will talk to one another to make driving safer and less congested.

But in the meantime, the bulk of the safety burden falls on the vehicle itself.

An innovative head up display (HUD) allows the driver to read vital instrument information without taking his or her eyes from the road. Future displays may show navigation directions or traffic warnings.

Manufacturers must meet 48 Canada Motor Vehicle Safety Standards on passenger cars and 43 on trucks.

Super computers and sophisticated gadgetry let manufacturers simulate the behaviour of components as well as entire

vehicles in a crash situation. Some tests can even be done before the part or the vehicle is built.

Despite computer simulations, tests with actual cars and crash test dummies that help engineers simulate the type and degree of impact on human passengers are still essential.

As the cost of technology drops, more sophisticated state-of-the-art safety features will become commercially available. For example, laboratory versions of devices that enhance driver vision in fog or at night and macroscopic collision systems are already being tested. ■

## REALITY CHECK

Consumers embrace safety—when they don't have to pay extra for it. In the mid-1970s, GM offered air bags as an option for approximately \$300 to \$400 less than cost. In the U.S., just 30,000 units were sold.

Whether GM didn't market the air bags well or the public didn't understand or trust devices designed to literally explode in their faces, consumer acceptance was marginal.

But costs have come down and the public is responding well to the manufacturers' commitment to saving education. As an option, air bags and ABS cost under \$1,000 each, but when rolled out as standard on an entire model line, the cost is generally \$400 to \$500 each. Volume of sale effectively halved the cost of production.

"Making them standard equipment forces volume into the market and keeps costs down," says John Healy, manager, product planning and assurance, General Motors of Canada, Oshawa, Ont.

Consumers may be less than keen on paying for safety and also avoid any safety feature that is inconvenient or uncomfortable. Mandatory seat belt use legislation is as effective in every province and by mid-1993 close to 60 percent of Canadians were seat belted up from 75 percent in 1989. Government agencies and safety groups are educating the public in the hope that by 1995 99 percent will be belted. This increase could save 500 lives and prevent 15,000 injuries by 1995, so buckle up.

When buying a car, experts suggest carefully researching safety features and understanding them. As a vehicle owner read and reread the owner's manual to know what the safety features can and can't do.

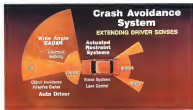
"Many people don't realize that if the vehicle is hit from behind, the air bag won't deploy," says Leclair. "If pumped as many have been trained to pump brakes, ABS brakes may lose some braking effectiveness. Try and test those features before you have to use them in a real-life emergency."

Passive safety features work automati-

cally and require no action by occupants for example, vehicle structure, interior design and air bags. Active safety features are deliberately chosen by drivers and passengers including ABS, seatbelts and windshield wipers.

According to GM research, drivers use crash avoidance systems 99 times as often as crash protection systems.

We want to give drivers the opportunity to avoid the accident before protecting them in case of an accident," says GM's Healy, whose firm has focused on ABS while Chrysler has emphasized air bags.



"Our focus on air bags was primarily in response to public demand," says Walt McGill, manager, corporate public relations, Chrysler Canada, Windsor, Ont.

Industry statistics state an air bag is needed once in every 175,000 trips compared to ABS, which will be needed once in five trips annually in a collision situation depending on the climate.

Consumer interest and manufacturers' subsequent commitment to air bags and to a lesser extent ABS is keeping the focus on those two safety features. Although vehicle weight and structure play a huge role in safety.

Better, lighter vehicles are more cost-effective and fuel-efficient, but consumers still want to know what happens to a smaller vehicle in a crash. Many automo-

bile engineers at Chrysler, GM, and Delco Electronics are working together to develop technologies that can help prevent crashes by extending a driver's senses beyond the second stage.

if struck strikes the inside of the vehicle.

The vehicle's structure must absorb the force of impact in that split second.

The car's skeleton and even its skin are engineered specifically to soak up huge quantities of energy by bending and crumpling in a controlled fashion.

Most modern cars don't have the heavy ladder-shaped frame, instead combining the body and frame into a lighter and therefore more economical, single unit—sheet metal structure.

In a crash, the heavy frame of a body-on-frame vehicle absorbs most of the energy of impact. In a unitized vehicle, the entire structure comes into play, crumpling in a controlled manner.

Automotive engineers know that can find most of the crushing to bodies, loads, engine compartments and cranks.

the consumers realize that the bigger and heavier the car, the safer it should be. The laws of physics tell us that if two similar objects of differing mass collide, the lighter object will experience a greater change in velocity than the heavier object.

Yet weight alone doesn't guarantee superior safety. The vehicle's skeletal structure is designed to absorb the energy of the crash between the car and the object it hits. The car's interior is designed to help absorb the energy of the "second collision" that occurs when the occupant comes pressure on the restraint system or



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To provide maximum protection, a seatbelt must be worn snug to the body with the shoulder belt across the shoulder and chest. The lap belt should be worn low across the lap, below the genital point of the hips.

In a collision, an improperly worn seatbelt can produce injury, including broken ribs and damage to the spine and internal organs.



airbag doesn't block the driver's vision or get in the way of the driver's hands or feet. It is not activated by rear-end or side collisions or by roll-overs. Front-stage minor blows to the forehead and low-speed accidents will not activate the airbag.

The airbag specifically protects the torso, the face, the chest and the cervical spine. It cushions the body against contact with the steering wheel, instrument panel and windshield. It supports the head and maintains proper alignment of the spinal column, thereby preventing serious injury to the brain and spine.

Manufacturers focused on driver's side airbags first, because statistics show that the driver is the sole occupant on 55 percent of trips. Due to consumer demand and to keep costs down, the number of standard driver and passenger side airbags on mid-size and larger vehicles is growing. Most vehicles will have standard driver and passenger side airbags within 12 to 18 months.

Most manufacturers agree that they are almost conspicuous by their absence if they don't install airbags as standard. It's become the responsible thing to do.

A used airbag can be re-stuffed. It must be replaced and it's said it may cost \$2,000 to \$5,000 to replace an airbag.

"In most cases, the cost of airbag replacement will be covered by the insurance company and the money, time and personal trauma saved in terms of personal injury will more than offset the cost of the repair," says Healy. "The insurance companies aren't scared off by airbags. In fact, they're all for them. Think of the cost of facial reconstructive surgery if someone's face hits the steering wheel, dashboard or windshield rather than the airbag."

The rumored \$2,000 to \$5,000 cost may be high. A new airbag module actually costs \$800 to \$900 and the sensors cost about \$90 each. To lessen the chances of the sensors taking a direct hit, the sensors are fairly robust and are tucked away.

Most repairs would have to be done whether or not there was an airbag.



"Today 15-year-olds are more likely to be caught how to use a condom properly than how to wear a seatbelt," says Dr. Doug Beames, a psychologist with the Traffic Injury Research Foundation of Canada. Ottawa.

"Over the age of 40, motor vehicle accidents rather than AIDS are the leading cause of death."

An airbag is an inflatable protection device hidden in the steering wheel and

behind the instrument panel or in the front of the dash or in the passenger side. An airbag consists of a person bag, an inflator unit, one or more crash sensors and a readiness monitor. It is designed to inflate in frontal collisions involving a moderate to severe impact equal to at least 16 to 18 km/hr.

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## ABS and Other Features

While many consumers assume that ABS stops the vehicle more quickly than it is not always correct. In some circumstances ABS will give drivers some steering capability at the expense of slightly longer stopping distances.

By pumping the brakes very rapidly the ABS keeps the wheels from locking. This lets the driver maintain control of the vehicle and steer around obstacles.

"Nevertheless, ABS is designed for only about 10 percent steering while braking," says Charlie Goodman, co-owner and general manager of the Nissan School of Performance Driving, Shannockville, Ore.

ABS comes in two formats: three-channel systems that employ a sensor on each front wheel and one for the rear wheels; and four-channel systems that have a sensor on each wheel.

Drivers need to know how the vehicle will react when ABS is performing. When ABS is in operation, the vehicle will vibrate and there is the sensation of noise. Unless the driver knows what to expect there is the likelihood the foot will be taken off the brake pedal in a hurry.

The first-time owner or driver of a vehicle with ABS must experience that feature as a non-emergency situation, says Goodman, and David Cole, Director of the Office for the Study of Automotive Transportation at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Both men agree that while ABS prevents wheel lock allowing drivers to steer around obstacles, the best of ABS can be a shock to the uninitiated.

Stopping and steering performance depends on many factors, including the type and weight of the vehicle, weight distribution, air temperature, type of tire and road, tread depth, air pressure and road surface, including the type of asphalt.

When traveling less than 40 km/hr on a dry surface, drivers will stop most quickly if brakes are locked. Over 60 km/hr, Goodman suggests steering and avoiding the obstacle. At higher speeds locked wheels lose their advantage because the patches of tire with road con-

tact are not enough to make, which reduces traction.

On a loose surface, for example, snow, sand or gravel, standard brakes may out-brake ABS by about 17 percent. The debris forms a wedge on the leading edge of the locked wheels that helps stop the vehicle on a rough surface for ABS. Whether or not the wheels are locked there is so little traction that steering capability is virtually non-existent.

Not all ABS is created equal, says GM's Healy. The truly effective ABS has been calibrated to the vehicle's weight so the wheels actually stop completely rather than just slowing when the brake is applied.



## Night Vision Enhancement System

"At the moment, the buyer has no real way of knowing if it's a good ABS or not," says Healy. "The government or insurance agencies will have to develop some kind of testing system."

Other safety features include traction control, which is generally available for an additional \$150 to \$200 on vehicles with ABS. The cost is relatively low because the necessary computers and sensors are already on board the vehicle for the ABS system. On a vehicle with traction control, if one wheel is on a slip-

pery surface and spinning, power is transferred from that wheel to the other three to help get the vehicle moving again.

Many consumers mistakenly believe 4WD provides better traction because it lets each wheel operate independently but the improved traction is simply the result of all four wheels receiving power, which means the vehicle's entire weight is pushing and pulling it forward.

Even with 4WD, a limited slip differential system is a traction bonus. Otherwise, the wheel on dry pavement can develop so much traction that the wheel on ice. The system locks the wheel on dry pavement, one thinking the wheel on ice is also on dry pavement.

A night vision enhancement system is being developed using infrared sensors that allow a driver to see things that are beyond the range of a car's low beam headlights, providing an alert that something is in the car's path before the driver might see it with unaided vision.

Under normal conditions, AWD splits the drive between the front and rear wheels but the drive axle gets the bulk of the power. The computer will send power to the axle with the most traction, where sensors indicate a lack of traction. Because twice as many wheels are being driven, it has better grip when traction is poor. With AWD, each wheel needs to transmit only half as much power as a conventional two-wheel drive system.

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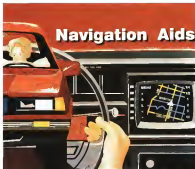
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## Navigation Aids

### TIRES

**T**ires are often the most neglected part of a car. To stay safe and accelerate properly, tires must be in good shape. Caring for tires may save you a life, while improving fuel economy and prolonging the life of the tires. Tire inflation affects the tires' surface contact with the road as well as wear and fuel consumption (see diagram).

No one can tell if a tire has enough air just by looking at them. According to a 1985 Transport Canada survey, about 70 percent of the tires on motor vehicles are under-inflated. And almost 90 percent of all vehicles have at least one under-inflated tire.

Under-inflation reduces total life, increases fuel consumption and can lead to sudden tire failure. A tire may be due gradually under-inflated when it is as little as four pounds per sq. in. below the recommended pressure.

The pressure of each tire, including the spare, should be checked at least once a month. Locate the tire recommended

Automotive navigation system that uses a series of computerized maps and a color CRT screen can provide route guidance to any selected destination, taking the car's next selected entrance into account.

pressure on a label inside the door frame or the glove compartment.

Use a pressure gauge to check each tire. The gauges on gas stations or pumps are often inaccurate and it's worth investing in the pocket gauges sold by automotive supply stores.

Check tires when they're cool, which is when the car has been driven less than one mile at moderate speed.

Remember that tires lose pressure when the air temperature gets colder.

Regularly check tires for signs of wear or damage. An uneven wear from the front ends either under-inflation, poor wheel alignment, improper wheel balance or worn-out shock absorbers. A tire with deep cuts, slits, cracks, blisters or bulges is dangerous and should be replaced immediately. A tire needs to be replaced when the tread has worn down to a depth of 1.6 mm, or less. If wear bars are showing,

replacement is overdue.

Technical innovations have improved traction, however, in the case of Bridgestone's Run-Flat tire, gross drivers can ensure some sense of security. Even with little or no air pressure, Run-Flat can comfortably run at 100 kph for up to 100 km. According to Bridgestone, even with total loss of air pressure, the driver may never notice the tire is flat. Nevertheless, the tire's low pressure is immediately indicated on the car's dashboard.

Bridgestone's Roll-Flat tire lets a tire with an aspect ratio of 60 per cent or above run even after it has lost all air pressure. Its internal supportive ring rotates around the wheel's centre to sustain the car's weight once air pressure is lost. This technology exists and has been tested in Asia, but is not yet commercially available in North America.

Bridgestone's Blizak has the Multicell rubber compound, which contains thousands of tiny pores. On a dry road surface, rubber and asphalt interlock to create a tire grip as the tread rubber drapes over the peaks and valleys on the pavement surface.

But in icy, snowy or wet conditions, a film of water is created so that the tire's tread can't come into such close contact with the asphalt surface.

Blizak's tiny pores eliminate the film of water by giving the water somewhere to go and by increasing the number of edges that make contact with the road. Bridgestone tests show that Blizak comes to a stop approximately 10 percent faster than competing tires on snow, ice and wet pavement.

Goodyear's Aquagrip, a radial passenger tire, has a deep circumferential groove that effectively evacuates water and increases resistance to hydroplaning. The directional tread pattern helps the tire maintain its grip on the road in all weather.

Aquagrip was recognized by the Industrial Designers Society of America and Popular Science, Popular Mechanics and Discover magazines for engineering and design excellence. Fortune magazine named it one of 1992's best new products. ■

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## OTHER FEATURES

**C**anadian child safety seat regulations are tougher than those in the U.S. and the CAA warns that detachable seats bought in the U.S. may not meet Canadian standards.

Detachable seats may not be correctly installed by consumers, which lessens their effectiveness. The elimination of the need for installation and the subsequent reduction of the possibility for error has contributed to the success of Chrysler's award-winning built-in child safety seats.

have fallen out of cars after playing with door locks and doors. "Child-proof" child-door-lock levers on rear doors are in great demand. On the rear edge of the door by the window, the system deactivates door handles.

Many vehicles now have headlights which come on automatically as dusk falls, eliminating the risk that the driver may not realize that the headlights and tail lights are on.

Demand for remote keyless entry is on the rise as security-conscious drivers feel safer instantly unlocking doors with a

key. Such obstacle warning systems could be used to warn drivers that they are following another car too closely. In the near future, the system will simply alert the driver, but in the next century, the system may automatically slow the vehicle if the driver doesn't react.

Military night-vision technology could help drivers see more clearly in the dark, an advantage for everyone, but a real boon to older drivers. The rate of night bad crashes is five times the daylight rate.

These devices are considered part of intelligent vehicle-highway systems (IVHS) that link cars with each other and the roads they travel. IVHS can roadway sensors, vehicle-to-vehicle radar, electronic warning signs, smart traffic lights and even ambulances.

In the Toronto area, easily updated electronic highway signs already advise motorists of the traffic conditions ahead in an effort to alleviate congestion. In the future, an onboard navigation device could inform drivers of traffic jams and even suggest an alternate route.

In the next century, experts say long-distance highway travel may be facilitated as vehicles could be placed on "auto-pilot"; if vehicles communicated with one another and the road, they could maintain proper vehicle spacing. Groups of smart cars could move at high speeds separated by just inches.

Although it's unlikely the more exotic technology will become widespread in the next half century, the emphasis on safety will continue to grow as all Canadians try to further reduce the human and economic costs of traffic fatalities and injuries. ■

Written by Kara Kueylenz, a Toronto freelance journalist.



an option on its popular Dodge and Plymouth minivans. The built-in seats are also optional on 1993 Intrepid and Eagle Vision passenger cars. Volvo also offers built-in seats.

The bench seat looks like an ordinary passenger seat, but folds down to form a child seat with built-in harness. The built-in seats are safe for children eight to 18 kg (about 18 to 40 lbs.) and those under 18 years old.

In the 1994 model year, the built-in seats remain optional on Dodge and Plymouth minivans and on the GLI series. The 1995 Dodge/Plymouth Neon model to be introduced this January will have the optional built-in child seats.

Out of concern for small children, who

built-in child safety seats fold down to form a child seat with built-in harness.

remote control device than hunting for keys. Styleless entry, where the driver punches in a code number, is also becoming popular.

Future safety systems take advantage of sophisticated technology that will further enhance a driver's abilities, while protecting the driver in case of error.

For example, a lane-changing aid could tell a car or truck a blindspot, while Delco Electronics is demonstrating an obstacle detection system for passenger vans. When a vehicle is reversing, the system is switched on and warns the driver if something is in its path. The system could also help when parking, because it shows the distance between the rear bumper and other objects.

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#### BOOKS

## A country unravelling

Is it possible to knit Canada back together?

PAUL TILDES  
SERIOLING FOR A  
CANADIAN VISION  
By Jeffrey Simpson  
HarperCollins, 358 pages,  
\$25.95

Expressed by the book's title, is it a little polemic? In need of a little polemic to alter the recent federal election campaign? Canadians who are looking for relief from a nation would be well-served to exercise caution while browsing through this book's pages. There, as a shelf in a bookstore is labelled "Canadians," there is a collection of writings guaranteed to induce despair among those for whom *O Canada* remains an expression of national pride rather than a lament. Consider some of the titles: *Disfranchising a Nation*, *United We Fall*, *Meet Canada First*, *The Breaking of Canada*, *Disfranchisement*. What a pity that one of the few growth industries in the past few years, the publishing industry, involves the documentation, in pamphlet and often painful detail, of the country's seemingly insurmountable slide towards decay.

If the past few years have taught us anything, however, it is that the tensions that threaten to pull Canada apart will not disappear just because politicians or voters try to ignore them. Eventually, the forces that burst onto the national agenda during the Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional roadblocks will erupt again. *Paul Tilde's Struggling for a Canadian Future* is an useful guide to those pressures as readers are likely to find. Author Jeffrey Simpson has spent nine years in Ottawa as national columnist for *The Globe and Mail* (he is now an assistant professor at Stanford University in California), never having hesitating to sustain a series of scorching columns that have long ago exhausted the patience of lesser mortals. The result is a



Simpson, outlining the major rifts and tensions

book that is both thought-provoking and well-informed, without being in any way alarmist.

As his title suggests, Simpson's aim is to outline the major cleavages that run through Canadian society now that the old political culture—based on accommodation among regions and between the two major linguistic-cultural groups, French and English—is in ruins. For clarity, he adopts what he calls the "conventional journalistic technique of describing ideas and events through the lens of individual personalities." Although Simpson seems optimistic about that approach—he even begs forgiveness for the lack of footnotes—the technique is entirely appropriate. After all, the constitutional experts, with their

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## BOOKS

themselves as the most vocal of autodidacts, were in it as much to measure to blame for the 1980 referendum debacle. Consumed by the abstract challenge of balancing interest groups, they ultimately lost sight of the public.

The people who inhabit the pages of *Pushouts* are themselves representative of the forces that are reshaping Canada, just under the surface. Derrick Bursey, senior leader Georges Erasmus, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, Reform Leader Preston Manning, socialist lawyer Mary Elerts, Saul Ste. Marie, Ont. Mayor Joe Franks, and, from Quebec, well-known "hard defender" Louis Dozo and Blaise Deschamps' leader Lucien Bouchard.

Reading biographies of his subjects with his own interviews, as well as background on the issues they personally, Simpson shows how these people came by their positions and why they are determined to mould the country's political structure. The author's own small liberal views are usually discernable only between the lines. But the two people who receive the most favorable treatment are Bursey, a "maverick" who saw the truth as a way to curb government's willingness to intervene in the marketplace, and Elerts, who has used the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to advance the cause of women. Manning, on the other hand, is portrayed as a leader who exploits regional and ethnic resentments, while Bouchard's career is seen as a misguided idealism, clinging naively to the belief that English-Canadians would enter into an economic association with an independent Quebec.

In fact, it is Franks, the straightforward mayor of St. Catharines, who best reflects the attitude of a growing number of English-Canadians. A third-generation Italian immigrant who in 1980 helped to pass a symbolic English-only resolution in retaliation partly for Quebec's French-only sign law, he admits that if Quebec did decide to separate, "it wouldn't be the end of the world."

For all of its virtues, *Pushouts* is, at times, tough sledding. Perhaps Simpson has spent too much time in the company of constitutional scholars and piling-up political acrobats. The book is filled with academic battleships about the "jurisprudence of separatism" and "modern neoconservatism." Is it any wonder that so many Canadians believe that their political and intellectual efforts have been lost?

It is a shame, because *Pushouts* deserves to be widely read. As Simpson illustrates, those who are determined to make the country a less tolerant place are often skilled propagandists, capable of stirring up latent hostilities and deeply rooted resentments. By contrast, the pluralists—Simpson included—spent much of their time preaching to the converted. Canadians who share his vision of a tolerant nation will have to start speaking up, but they get swept aside by a tide of intolerance.

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## BOOKS

### Boozy brilliance

PURISHED BY FURY: A LIFE OF MALCOLM LOWRY  
By Gordon Bowker  
(Oxford: Blooms, 672 pages, \$37)

When it not for *Under the Volcano*, his semi-autobiographical 1947 novel about a drunkard's hell, British writer Malcolm Lowry might well be forgotten as almost before he faded at midnight, at 40, in a ship's hold, at sea. In other words, at writing, his other works were either unfinished or only partially successful. But *Volcano*, much of which was written on the British Columbia coast, has a forthright, unadorned beauty that has led many critics to rank it among the greatest English language novels. In his forthright and disquieting new biography of Lowry, *Purished by Fury*, British author Gordon Bowker sets out to explain how this rascally incomplete man produced a great work of art.

Lowry is a particularly difficult subject for a biographer—a compulsive liar, he tried to blur the line between himself and his fictional characters—especially the drunken narrators of *Volcano*, Geoffrey Hamlyn. Earlier accounts of Lowry's life have tended to accept the myth of the drinker, the wayward genius without digging any deeper. Bowker certainly confirms the depths of Lowry's alcoholism: he reports that at one point, the writer drank an entire bottle of olive oil in the belief that it was hair tonic with a high alcoholic content. But Bowker also makes clear that the drinking was an escape from a deeper pain. Lowry, it seems, suffered from a permanent identity crisis. One of his friends, exhausted by Lowry's mania, once concluded that the writer lacked a true adult personality and was somehow empty, almost as if he had never lived at all.

It is one thing to present anecdotal evidence of an inner vacuum and urge another to trace its causes. Why, Bowker refrains from too much psychologizing and—guided by unprecedented access to papers and let-

ters, fired up by the 1968 death of Lowry's widow, Margaret—lets the writer's soul tell itself. Lowry was born near Liverpool in 1908, the fourth son of a successful cotton broker. Arthur, and his coldly neurotic wife, Evelyn. His childhood was an emotional desert. Lowry and his brother Russell disliked their distant mother so intensely that they hid in the kitchen, making a show of defiance. Shamed off to boarding school,



Lowry, how did such a rascally incomplete man produce the classic *Under the Volcano*?

Lowry found little relief as the other boys snatched him unmercifully for the absurdity to call the many drinks of *Volcano*. But she was bored with the isolation, and in 1934, seven years after *Volcano's* triumphant publication, she persuaded a reluctant Lowry to leave British Columbia for Europe. Bowker paints a pathetic picture of these final three years together. Margaret, playing the role of the human author's wife, Lowry miserable and longing for Delmaria, and both of them lacking in mutual feeling.

In 1937, the two were living in a cottage in southern England when Lowry suddenly died, at the age of 28. It is not clear if he committed suicide with an overdose of barbiturates and alcohol or if he took (even accidentally) and choked to death on his own vomit. In any case, his death removed the only person who might have explained what *Purished by Fury*, for all its many virtues, can only hint at: how a particular quality of genius turned the basic misery of alcoholism into literary gold.

In 1934, Lowry married the American Jan Gabriel, and two years later they went to live in Mexico, which was to provide the pri-

mal writing and experiences for *Under the Volcano*. Like his fictional alter ego in that novel, Lowry took to wandering off on drunken sojourns, viewing the exotic landscape through the lens of alcoholic euphoria. The wife, however, grew tired of looking after her brilliant but childish husband. As Bowker puts it, Lowry's ideal woman was "a mother who was a good boy." Jan felt Lowry in 1938, but he realized her almost immediately with another American, former silent film actress Margaret Bowyer, whom he met in California.

The following year, the happiest and most productive period of Lowry's life began when he and Margaret moved north to British Columbia. They rented a seaside shack in the village of Delmaria, a few kilometers north of Vancouver. Inspired by his wife's beauty, Lowry worked hard and even



*Playing the Piano: A love triangle in colonial New Zealand*

## Rain forest rhapsody

The Piano is a work of passion and beauty

The drama of a love triangle among colonists in the 1840s, the movie has the romantic glossiness of a literary novel. But despite its 19th-century setting, *The Piano* seems in tune with the times, resonant with contemporary concerns ranging from gender confusion to sexual politics. And although the script was Campbell's own invention, it has a raw, emotional quality. It's like a feminist fairy tale—I don't even feel that it's quite true.

The movie's spell is cast right from the opening scene: a sequence of handballing images filmed on a savage New Zealand shore, a woman in a bonnet and hoop skirt clambering out of a boat in rough seas with her daughter often holding a large cross on the beach, musicians of soul cooking behind their instruments, the woman's hand playing through a hole in the crate and carrying the keys of a piano.

The woman, a Scot named Ada (Grace), has been imported to New Zealand for an arranged marriage with a settler, Stewart

(Neil), whom she has never met. Ada is mute. For mysterious reasons, she has not spoken a word since the age of six. The poem belongs to her; it is her voice. And she seizes upon the only thing that she can use to express herself: the piano. On the beach, rather than drag it through the bush later, Ada persuades her neighbor, Baines (Hector), to remove it. It is an illicit pleasure who has gone native, decorating his face with Maori tattoos. Baines is the 19th-century answer to the New Man.

After salvaging the piano, he buys it from Ada's husband in exchange for some land. Ada is furious. But Baines offers to sell the instrument back to her in return for "piano lessons"—one black key for every lesson. His proposal is merely a pretext for seduction. While she plays, he watches, and with his touch, he probes her into stripping away her Victorian layers of inhibition. "She's an object of curiosity to him," says Campbell. "But what he really wants is a sort of reciprocity. He wants her to feel for him the way she feels about her piano."

The seduction continues, and as the consequences take place in a general surroundings, a claustrophobic world of rain and mud. Campbell has filmed the forest in shades of ultramarine, giving it an underwater look that accentuates the central metaphor: drowning.

For a director with such a strong visual sense, Campbell is exceptionally good with actors. In *The Piano*, she draws out perfect performances from her cast. Without uttering a word (except in the extended), Hector expresses her will with the kind of power and subtlety that wins Oscars. Neil's causticity (his character's masculinity with something of a pining) and Ada's unworldly daughter, an impulsive spirit named Flora, New Zealand's Anna Paquin is amazing. Most remarkably, though, Hector trades in his hard-boiled, urban persona to play a beguiling romantic lead with a soft Scottish brogue. Campbell's movie, an enigma, is as rhapsodic as her title. "I would have played the third Maori from the left for Jane," says Neil. "She's a fantastic woman and a great director." Kariel calls her "a goddess."

She is a vicious woman, with blue eyes, white of blond hair and a red-lipped mouth. One evening, her mouth, swollen from jelly, Campbell talked with Maori in a Maori hotel room, drunkenly stirring a bowl of soggy game and berries. It was her first sexual intercourse since Campbell and stepping back into the public eye was not easy. Last June, just two months after she was born, she gave birth to her first child, James, who died 12 days later.

Campbell now lives in Sydney, Australia, with husband Colin Englert, a TV producer



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and dancer. The child of two actors, she was raised in New Zealand, then attended Victoria University in Melbourne. She chose to study anthropology, she says "because it seemed like the course where the greatest proportion of students passed. But it became quite a passion for me." After graduating, Cameron dove into another obsession, enrolling in a Sydney art school where costume and performance art were all the rage. "It was unbelievably exciting," she recalls. "The school was run by young artists who had incredibly high standards. It was intense, across the board. I never let myself find my own personal voice—that was the challenge."

Cameron found her voice by staging "life plays about women and sex," which led her to make her first short film. "She went on to avoid film's head and work with Australia's Women's Film Unit. 'But it was very influenced by painting,' she says. "That's where it came into film making. I do love film, but I'm not a film buff at all. When people go on about *Psycho* and all that, I'm completely lost."

Influenced by both painting and anthropology, artifice in *The Piano*, a sexual affair believed that Cameron seems to have drawn from her New Zealand roots. It's a primal tale of sexual attraction. And the anthropology, she says, is intuitive—"It's helped me in the learning of meanings and cultural symbols." She drew up the plan for *The Piano* well before making her first film. But it took time to work up the nerve and the money, to create it. "I really wanted to do a love story where you could see the growth from forbidden towards confession, and to move all a kind of love and sexuality," she says. "These characters are approaching sex with really no experience. Although Ada's had a child, we assume it was love's pretty rudimentary experience."

The director takes issue with the way sex is usually portrayed in cinema. "One of the obsessions with men cheating on women, is to show sex as they would do it," she says, laughing at the idea. "So there's a sort of self-looseness involved. And they try to turn the audience on in a subliminal kind of way." She adds, "I don't mind if the sex in the film does feel like an artistic, but that's not the intention. The important thing is that it doesn't serve out of place for the characters."

An unspoken tension exists in nature, Cameron's attitude, and her sense of humor. "But at the time I was writing *The Piano*," she recalls, "I thought I wouldn't like to be paid anything as a woman. Now I know better. I am still on a strong feminist, in the sense that I like women a lot and I am cynical about men. Also, men do seem to have the obvious, lateral power and wealth." Cameron appears unoppressed by the obsessions. But, after organizing a career out of intelligibility, with *The Piano* she has lived her voice and taken her place as a new Australian cinema.

BRAND L. JOHNSON

## Law and disorder

*The clothes make the man—into a psychotic*

I LOVE A MAN IN UNIFORM  
Directed by David Williamson

A character in Wendy Allen's *Wastlands* and *Where* says that life does not imitate art—it imitates bad television. *I Love a Man in Uniform* is a movie about a man who seems pathologically trapped in that proposition. Henry (Tom McCausland) is an afflicted bank clerk who imagines he is an actor, and

glazes his intimates of fashion. Yet, despite the film's lack of obvious local relevance, there is something peculiarly Canadian about its vision—the divided identity of the writers, the politeness that masks his anger, and his muted embrace of tough-guy clichés far an *American-style* cop show. Henry is an outsider, desperate for an identity.

Cultural implications aside, the movie works well as a purely psychological drama, one that played to strong sections of the

Canes Film Festival last May. But at home, where it is nominated for six Genies, it has been ignored in the heat picture and best director categories—its outrage was over sight. *I Love a Man in Uniform*, heads down, the most accomplished dramatic feature to emerge from Canada this year.

In the lead role, McCausland delivers a focused, edgy performance, an exercise in controlled rage. That gradually gives balletic intensity. It is a role within a role. And throughout the film Henry keeps reciting the macho lines of his *Crimewave* script like a mantra, balking out at imaginary cameras. He is Walter Matthau as Robocop.

Along the way, he finds an imagery griffled in Charlie, his *Crimewave* co-star, played with a singular blend of vulnerability and spunk by Brigitte Bako. He says to himself that on-screen roles of prostitute-victim and caper-master for the real thing. So rounded by unimpaired leading authority figures—an acting teacher (David Hendrick) and an indifferent director (Daniel MacIvor)—he becomes an increasingly isolated, and he makes the psychotic point of no return.

Williamson elicits a disturbing empathy for Henry by telling the story entirely from the character's point of view. The film-maker's identification with him also creeps into the direction, which slips in and out of reality, just like Henry. One surreal image has a Marilyn Monroe look-alike roiling a bank, killing a man, then shivering with laughter as an auditor wheel blows her white dress above her waist.

But the film, apparently punctuated with stabs of graphic violence, remains a visceral, credible. *I Love a Man in Uniform* deals with a compelling, single-minded momentum—as a lethal dressing-down of the male psyche.

B. D. J.

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# Real people don't write that way

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is a strange similarity between the opening sentences in the two big books of the Canadian publishing scene, written by two of Canada's most brilliant men. "I was born in Montreal, August 25, 1944, to comfortable parents," is the way Conrad Black opens his autobiography, *A Life in Progress*. "I was born into a family, a home and a neighborhood of modest means," is the beginning of Pierre Trudeau's *Memoirs*.

Black would have us believe he built his entire world publishing empire on a loan of \$300 at a time when his father was president of Canada's breweries and who described himself as "a man-of-the-mill millionaire." Trudeau's father grew rich by selling his string of service stations to Imperial Oil. While such amazing corporate empires in John Turner and Brian Mulroney stand up as the corporate darlings of Trudeau does not have one. He doesn't need to be wealthy through his inheritance.

Why these intelligent and accomplished men attempt to create such humble beginnings is difficult to comprehend, since their biographies would have made them as successful as whatever they tried. And it's not as if they're lacking anyone.

Black at least knew his own stuff. He had no need to prove and elaborate sobriety not to be attempted by any other scholar. He confides in his own recollections and offers and a remarkably candid revealing that he was no tortured by depression, drug spills and stress attacks that he had to carry sick bags around with him for a period of several years. Trudeau's alleged "memories" is a strange blend, created by too many other biographers and is no unsatisfactory pretext for something that could have proceeded as such.

How can a consummate liar like the inner thoughts of a business figure, his dreams, his honest passions, his personal desires? Of course it can't and that's what we have here. Trudeau was persuaded to give interviews after a CBC writer died in January that will sum up his career.



A succession of writers—some not infelicitous, to be replaced by others—then built around these interviews into what is supposed to be Trudeau's life. He edited their efforts and made suggestions, but the end result doesn't ring true. These are Trudeau's own words, and Trudeau's employers trying to make him say what he didn't want to say himself. It's embarrassing in the obvious nature.

The beautifully printed book has large print, wide margins and 210 photos. It never before seen by the public, rather as if it is aimed at the visually impaired. It's the first autobiography in history of a major figure that's going to end up on the coffee table that the bedside table.

The front cover has a striking photo of Trudeau in a business jacket. The back cover has a photo of Trudeau looking at a pair of binoculars. You get the idea. Other

have pointed out the squinty line of the caption on the photo inside. Indeed, it's how world leaders from Gorbachev to John Lennon to Edward Heath spoke so glowingly of "me." Real people don't write that way about themselves; the helpers do it for us.

Trudeau in public life was famous for not giving much of himself away and he is the same here in what is supposed to be his memoirs. If not his confessions. Peter Macpherson puts just three sentences on their romance and marriage, just three more on the end of it all—though the publishers are only too eager to include dozens of photos of her.

His only one touch with reader is his ad mission that he was "a sceptic at both politics and family life at the same time." Married late in life, his three boys arrived "fairly quickly, and I was learning about marriage and parenthood at the same time I was learning about the workings of politics. So perhaps it was a little too much for me and, regrettably, I didn't succeed at that well."

His recollection of the perching John Turner resignation from cabinet does not square with Turner's version that he was misled by being offered the Senate as a judgeship.

One of the reasons this is going to spend a lot of time on the coffee table is that it is the only book to mention where the reader brings are largely attached only to pictures. One turns exactly to the reference to Lawrence English, the high White House official who once said "Trudeau reminded him of some dope-smoking Irish guy—was it to find him a more than in a photo. We learn from a caption the accompanying thought that Trudeau felt Joe Clark was "a far

stranger opponent" than Mulroney. It is of course just a matter of time, once more around the block on the Trudeau foundation for the selection of the nation, a book of his hand to the organizers and the claim that the press misrepresented the Quebecers' extrajudicial role in the Constitution battle.

Trudeau has been robust throughout his career at ruling against the same radical view in his own province. He edited their efforts and made suggestions, but the end result doesn't ring true. These are Trudeau's own words, and Trudeau's employers trying to make him say what he didn't want to say himself. It's embarrassing in the obvious nature.

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